

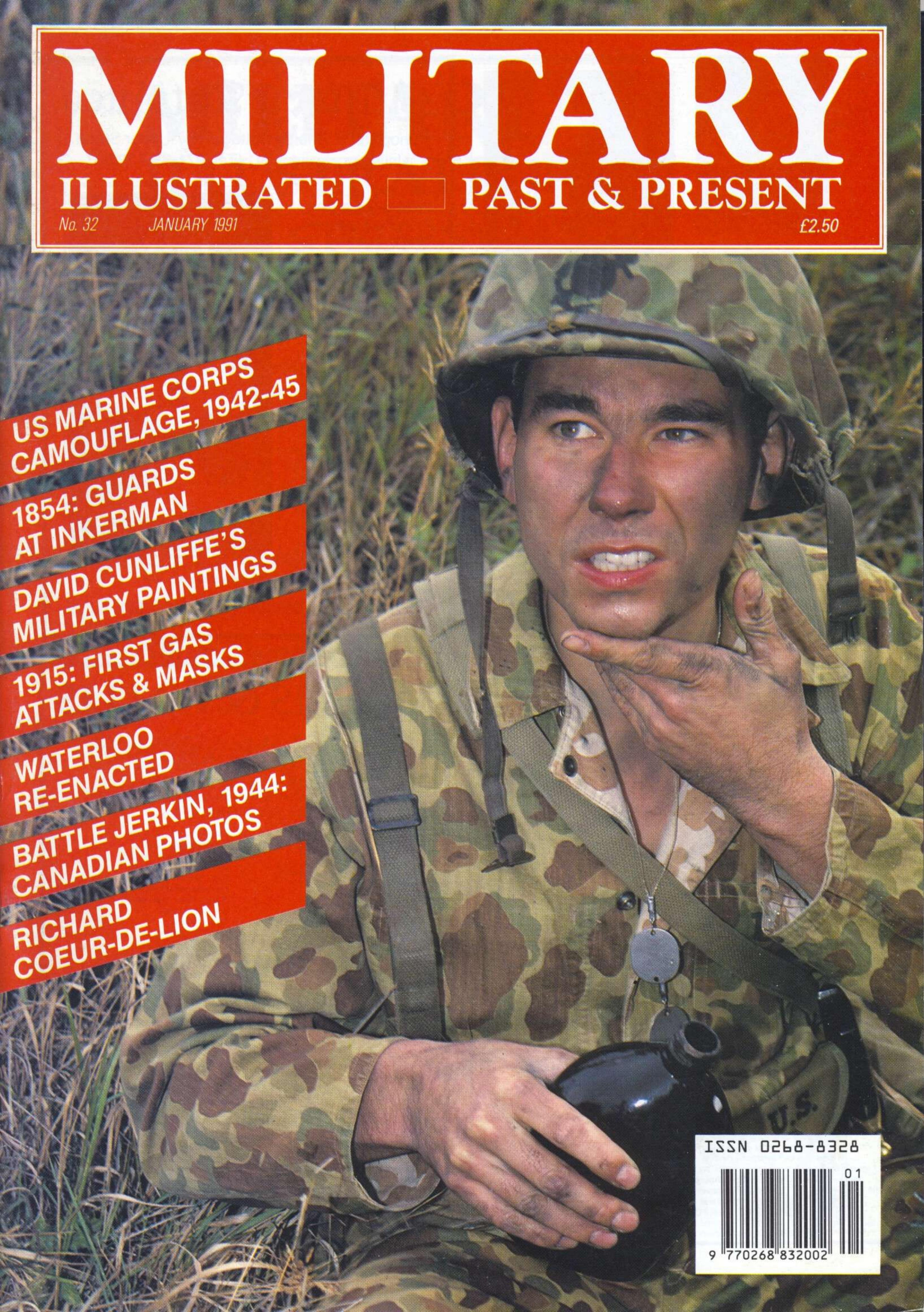
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ILLUSTRATED PAST & PRESENT

No. 32

JANUARY 1991

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Our cover illustration shows a reconstruction of a US Marine Raider of 1943 – see article p.25.

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EDITORIAL

We are delighted to welcome to our columns in this issue one of the best-known uniform historians in the country: **R.G.Harris**. Ron, who is known for his encyclopedic knowledge and unrivalled collection of illustrations, has been an enthusiast since schooldays. He served in the 17th Bn.(Portsmouth) Hampshire Home Guard, and still lives and works in Portsmouth. He is a member of many societies, and was for many years on the Council of the Society for Army Historical Research. He has published many articles in various publications, and 'three and a half books' – the half book being a co-authored study of the work of Harry Payne, with Michael Cane, and the most recent being *The Irish Regiments* (Nutshell Publishing) – reviewed in *MI*No.24.

This month sees a rich crop of first-time contributors; the furthest-flung is **Edward Storey**, a Canadian reader. Ed is a collector of Canadian militaria, an accomplished miniature AFV modeller, and author of several magazine articles on both topics. Born in 1960 in Petawawa, Ontario, in a military family, Ed served in the Militia with the Lanark and Renfrew Scottish and the Governor General's Foot Guards from 1978, and in 1982 joined the Canadian Military Engineers, Regular Force; he is currently a sergeant with the Mapping and Charting Establishment.

Our fascinating article on the first gas respirators is by **Simon Jones**, Exhibitions Officer at the Royal

Engineers Museum. Born in 1964, he obtained a BA (Hons) in English and History from Sunderland Polytechnic in 1987, joining the RE Museum shortly afterwards. He has been researching chemical warfare in the First World War since 1984, and his BA dissertation on the use of gas at Loos was recently published in *The Great War*. He is currently researching the chemical warfare aspects of the British intervention in Russia in 1919.

Our piece on the first US Marine camouflage uniforms is by **Jim Moran**, born in 1954, and currently a civil engineering surveyor in Barnsley, Yorkshire; Jim is married with one daughter. He has studied the USMC for 20 years, and as a part-time dealer and full-time collector has built up an important collection of their uniforms and equipment. In recent years he has concentrated on specific units, e.g. the Parachute and Raider Battalions. Jim's series will run for several issues.

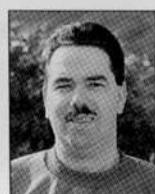
Alan Larsen contributes an article on the recent 175th anniversary re-enactment of Waterloo, in which he commanded the 'French cavalry' forces. Born in 1960, Alan left his native New Zealand while still in his teens to participate in cavalry re-enactment, and has since had extensive experience with groups both here and in the USA. A history graduate from the University of Otago, NZ, he works as a sales representative; he is married, and lives in Hampshire. His interests extend to research on all aspects of the life and equipment of the horse soldier down the ages. (Friends gasp to the tale of how he got his impressive neck scar...)



Ed Storey



Simon Jones



Jim Moran



Alan Larsen

Dracula

Readers intrigued by our reconstruction of Vlad the Impaler in 'MI'No.30 may care to note that there is an impressive c.70mm white metal figure of this legendary monster, sculpted by Keith Durham, and cast and produced to their usual high standards by Ray Lamb of Poste Militaire.

Errata

In our caption to the photograph of 93rd Highlanders in barracks at Devonport, 1853 ('MI'No.30, p.43) we refer to 'Oxford mixture' trousers. This is of course in error; they would have been wearing Sutherland tartan trews. Apologies to author Alan Carswell and to readers.

Research request

An Australian reader seeks any information or photographs relevant to the First World War activities of 22 Heavy Battery, Royal Garrison Artillery, and particularly of Fitter Sergeant J.T.West of this unit. If you can help, please write to M.J.Wellen-Charteris, Unit 1, 22 Capparis St., Algester 4115, Queensland, Australia.

Honourable discharge

Two stalwart members of the 'MI' team

take their departure with the new year. Valerie Scott has been our advertising manager since the first issue, and we would like to record our warmest gratitude for all her hard work, which has made a very direct contribution to the magazine's success. Regular and reluctant advertisers alike will confirm that her blend of friendliness and ferret-like persistence will be hard to duplicate. We welcome into her position Richard Kent of Raven Marketing, whom we are confident will maintain and develop the relationships established so patiently by Val. We all wish her a happy retirement – a word we find hard to associate with such a powerhouse of energy.

We also wish to salute Victor Shreeve's loyal support and patient craftsmanship as the magazine's designer since No.1. It was Vic who created the 'look and feel' of this publication, and who designed every issue up to No.31. Vic is an artist of the old school, who has the blessed quality of being able to take a general request and work it through the details of a design without further fuss – a sort of editorial/design telepathy which is inestimably valuable to a busy editor. Again, our warmest thanks, and best wishes.

MI

Video Releases to Buy:

- 'The Long Gray Line'
(RCA/Columbia:U)
'The Missiles of October'
(Castle:PG)
'The Last of the Mohicans'
(Castle:U)
'East of Sudan'
(RCA/Columbia:U)
'The Professionals'
(RCA/Columbia:PG)

ON THE SCREEN

Carey Jr., who plays the young Dwight D.Eisenhower. The film's curious absence from television in recent years makes it a most welcome release on video.

Anthony Page's *The Missiles of October* is a play made for American television in 1974, which purports to tell the story of the Cuban missile crisis of 1962 over a thirteen-day period. The introduction informs us that the script, by Stanley R.Greenberg, is based on 'reportage, academic study, eyewitness accounts and official documents'. The cast includes William Devane as President John F.Kennedy, Martin Sheen as Attorney General Robert Kennedy, and Ralph Bellamy as United Nations Ambassador Adlai Stevenson. The Russians are also represented: Howard da Silva plays Chairman Nikita Kruschev, and Nehemiah Persoff Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko. The play is interesting in the way it dramatises the method by which a face-saving compromise was eventually agreed. However, the lasting impression is one of endless talk and flatly lit visuals, with only the occasional brief relief of news-reel footage.

James L.Conway's *The Last of the Mohicans* is a television movie made in 1977 based on Fennimore Cooper's classic novel set during the French and

Indian Wars. The film is set in 1757, when the Huron Indians are massing to attack Fort William Henry. At a British army outpost, General Webb orders Major Duncan Hayward (Andrew Prine) to escort Cora and Alice Munro, the daughters of the fort's commanding officer, Colonel Munro. Their small party is hampered by a treacherous Indian guide, and an itinerant preacher, David Gamut. Inevitably, Major Hayward gets into difficulties, but help arrives in the form of Hawkeye (Steve Forrest), his faithful Mohican Indian companion Chingachgook (Ned Romero), and his son Uncas. This version utilises only part of Cooper's original story; we do not see the attack on the fort which formed an exciting climax in George B.Seitz's 1936 version starring Randolph Scott. The film was evidently considered successful enough for Forrest and Romero to repeat their roles in Dick Friendenberg's *The Deerslayer*, based on another of Cooper's novels, the following year, but can only really be considered as family entertainment.

The same is also true of Nathan Juran's *East of Sudan* (1964), set at the time of the siege of Khartoum. Anthony Quayle plays the roguish Private Richard Baker, who finds himself escorting an English governess (Sylvia

Syms) and her young native charge Asua (Jenny Agutter) from a besieged outpost to the supposed safety of Khartoum, together with a young and inexperienced subaltern, called Murchison (Derek Fowlds). Together they survive danger in the form of wild lions, stampeding elephants, Arab slave traders and hostile natives. This low-budget B-feature was mostly shot in the studio, and relies heavily on stock wildlife footage and scenes taken from Alexander Korda's *The Four Feathers* (1939). Scenes from Korda's film depicting the battle of Omdurman, 1898, are here used to represent the battle of Metemneh, 1885, between the Mahdi's followers and the British relief column attempting to reach besieged Khartoum.

Richard Brook's *The Professionals* (1966) is set during the Mexican Revolution soon after the turn of the century. Burt Lancaster, Lee Marvin, Robert Ryan, and Woody Strode play four mercenaries hired by a millionaire (Ralph Bellamy) to rescue his wife (Claudia Cardinale) from the clutches of a Mexican bandit played by Jack Palance. Complications occur when it becomes evident that Cardinale prefers her new life-style to her old. The many themes include conflicting codes of loyalty, the need for a personal code of honour, and the disappearance of the Old West. This first-class Western includes some excellent action sequences, beautiful photography, and a memorable score by Maurice Jarre.

Stephen J.Greenhill

THE AUCTION SCENE

At the September London Arms Fair several auctioneers displayed items that were to be offered in their forthcoming sales. Sotheby's table held some outstanding pieces from the Visser collection, and some choice lots from the Kynoch collection of firearms. Since that Arms Fair the sale of the second half of the famous Visser collection has been postponed from December 1990 until some time early in the New Year. The items from the collection of the famous firm of explosive manufacturers, Eley and Kynoch, came under the hammer at Sotheby's Sussex rooms at Billingshurst on 10 October and were preceded by a general sale of arms and armour. The prices in this section were pretty much as expected, although the prices of vintage air weapons continue to reflect a growing demand: a BSA Improved Model D air rifle realised £264, a .177 Webley Service air rifle went for £242 and a pre-war Diana air rifle sold for £165. A rare Elcho bayonet sold for £500 even though the unique broad blade was described as pitted. Japanese edged weapons maintained their usual level of prices with World War II swords fetching around the £200 mark. One surprising result was £495 for a 1904 British cavalry sword estimated at £100 - £150; but the big surprise was £1,870 paid for a good-quality Georgian Mameluke sabre.

Colt percussion revolvers held their value: a nicely cased .36 Navy revolver sold for £1,595 and another similar went for £1,012. Pepperbox revolvers seem to be climbing in value and a four-shot example by J. Beattie, cased with all accessories, sold for £1,100.

In the afternoon the Kynoch collection came under the hammer, and there were some surprises. The estimates for many of the items had been seen by the trade as far too low and the results certainly seemed to confirm this view. A Colt rimfire .41 Deringer sold for £352 on an estimate of £120 - £180; a good Sharps tape-primer carbine (estimate £250 - £350) sold for £1,100; and a Colt five-shot percussion revolving carbine with a top estimate of £1,200 realised £3,850. A good quality Brunswick rifle dated 1853 sold at £1,815 against a top estimate of £800; a 'Brown Bess' dated 1757 made £990 after an estimate of £400 - £500; but the most extreme was probably the Gibbs Farquharson rifle estimated at £200 - £400, which soon reached its selling price of £2,090. There was little militaria on offer, and some lots of badges early in the sale did not do particularly well. Sotheby's next sale is in December and includes some very attractive pieces of militaria. There is a particularly interesting little collection of cavalry material, including a very nice sabretache and some back pouches.

Kent Sales are continuing with their system of tenders rather than bids and seem to be rather specialising in Third Reich material. In addition to this material their sales always seem to include the odd item that is not of any great value but is full of interest.

Wallis & Wallis are still the best-known rooms for general militaria and they still manage to acquire enough



Officer's lance cap of the 12th (Prince of Wales's Royal) Lancers, with cypher of Edward VII, which achieved a price of £2,000 at Wallis & Wallis's Connoisseur Collector's Autumn Sale on 3 October. This fine piece has a black patent leather skull and embroidered peak, scarlet cloth sides and top, gilt lace bands, cords and rosette, and gilt rayed plate with silver-plated Royal Arms, plumes and sphinx. Other fine pieces which featured in this sale included a silver plated .476 in. patent hammerless double-trigger six-shot revolver by Kynoch won by the legendary shot Walter Winans in the 1887 NRA revolver competition at Wimbledon; this was acquired by the Royal Armouries with a bid of £1,400.

material to mount regular sales. For the collector of badges, uniforms, books and equipment their catalogues are mines of information and a few moments' checking the 'prices achieved' lists is time well spent, for they give a fairly accurate idea of the state of the market. Their sales are also likely to prove happy hunting grounds for the collector of limited means. The sale of militaria held on 2 October was made up of about 600 lots of which only about 70 realised prices in excess of £100, with the top price of £500 being paid for a full - dress uniform of a captain of the Indian Frontier Force. In this sale there were one or two minor surprises, such as the £210 paid for a First World War tank driver's mask of metal and mail. An officer's gilt and silver cap badge of the 21st Lancers sold for £105. The November sale of militaria is offering a selection of pickelhaubes as well as a wide range of badges and similar material.

Weller & Dufty are another firm which manage to find material for a number of sales throughout the year and also offer a range of items at the lower end of the price scale. Their sales are primarily concerned with firearms although there is always a section of antique weapons and some militaria.

The news of the European Firearms Legislation is mixed, with conflicting reports reaching those concerned. Some give cause for optimism that things may not be quite as bad as was feared but then a new rumour suggests that things are no better. One big problem is the provision of a definition of 'antique' which is simple, reasonable and capable of being implemented by all of Europe. At the moment it seems likely that a cut-off date will be selected, but whatever the choice there are bound to be anomalies. The National Pistol

Association and other informed sources are continuing in their efforts to prevent some of the worst excesses. It is to be hoped that they can inject a certain

amount of sense into the discussion which is, unfortunately, generally devoid of any logic.

There are clouds on the horizon for the re-enactment groups and shooters of black-powder weapons since the Health and Safety people, driven by fear of home-grown terrorists, are intent on increasing restrictions and controls on the sale, use and possession of black powder. These regulations and the EEC law will affect everybody concerned with the hobby and trade in firearms.

Frederick Wilkinson

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The Guards Brigade at Inkerman, 1854



MICHAEL BARTHORP
Paintings by DOUGLAS N. ANDERSON

The Battle of Inkerman, fought in the Crimea on Sunday 5 November 1854, resulted in the total repulse of the first great Russian counter-offensive against the Anglo-French armies besieging Sebastopol. Had the Russian plan succeeded the Allied positions would have become untenable, leaving the besiegers with only the perhaps impossible option of evacuating the Crimea. As it was, the Russians received – in the words of Brig.Gen.Pennefather, the officer chiefly responsible – such ‘a hell of a towelling’ that they undertook no further offensive for another nine months.

THE BATTLE

Inkerman, fought for much of its course in mist and fog, became known to posterity as the ‘soldiers’ battle’, because it was won primarily by the leadership of British junior officers and the courage, discipline, and superior skill-at-arms of their men.

The Russian onslaught fell initially upon Pennefather’s understrength 2nd Division, which in due course was reinforced by elements of the Light Division (see ‘MI’ No.6), the Guards Brigade, the 4th Division, and ultimately by the French. The heaviest casualties were sustained by the Guards Brigade, only some 1,200 strong, whose three battalions (3rd Grenadier Guards, 1st Coldstream Guards and 1st

Scots Fusilier Guards) lost nearly half their fighting strength. The majority of these occurred in the terrible fight for the Sandbag Battery, a disused artillery position on a spur at the extreme right of the British line. This earthwork, nine feet high with two embrasures, afforded no useful protection for infantry and indeed had no tactical significance. Nevertheless the Russian left wing attacked it and, despite losing heavily from 2nd Division counter-attacks, succeeded in establishing nine battalions in and around it.

The Guards’ Action

It was then that the Guards attacked. From its camp a mile away the brigade had been marching up with the Grenadiers leading, followed by

the Scots Fusilier Guards. Four companies of the Coldstream were coming on, having further to march, with two more, who had just been relieved on picquet, some way behind. Nominally in command was the brigadier, Bentinck, but with him was the Brigade’s divisional commander, the Duke of Cambridge.

On approaching the battle area the Grenadiers came under artillery fire and deployed their seven companies into line, their Colours in the centre⁽¹⁾. Seeing the Russians around the Sandbag Battery, the battalion halted, fired a volley and charged, turning the enemy out of the battery and reforming line on its right, facing east. They were immediately counter-attacked and were in danger from their left rear when the Scots Fusiliers came up and, having driven off the threat to the Grenadiers’ rear, formed on that battalion’s left, facing north.

Then began the most ferocious struggle in and around the battery, as these two battalions, 750 men, withstood the renewed efforts of some 7,000 Russians – ‘the thousands in a misshapen mass on one side, and the hundreds on the other in a knotted, strongly curved line, and divided by a space which, although greater elsewhere, was at one point towards the right no more than about eight

3rd Bn.Grenadier Guards charging the Russians at the Sandbag Battery, which can be seen to the right of the Guards’ line. After William Simpson. (National Army Museum)

yards’⁽²⁾. When musketry could not hold the enemy the Guardsmen made short, controlled charges with butt and bayonet; when ammunition ran out, they hurled rocks. By using the dead ground below the spur, four Russian battalions tried to turn the Grenadiers’ right, only to be frustrated as the Coldstream came to baulk their progress. During the time in which the Guards fought alone the battery changed hands four times.

Part of the 4th Division arrived, but the frenzy continued unabated. Impeded by the battery’s construction, and held back by their officers after each successive counter-charge to avoid losing control in the bush-covered low ground below the spur, the men became increasingly frustrated. Then an attack down the slope by some of the 4th Division broke the bonds of restraint and, scenting victory, all the defenders charged down, driving their enemy away. Only some hundred Grenadiers could be held back around their Colours by the Duke of Cambridge.

Successful though this headlong charge had been in clearing the spur, it proved what Kinglake called ‘a false victory’. Before the now intermingled and exhausted Guardsmen and Line infantry could return, more Russian battalions moved across from the west to cut off not only them, but also the hundred Grenadiers with Cambridge, from the rest of the British position in rear.

Keeping close around their Colours, these Grenadiers fought their way back and through the enemy, while the men below, in scattered parties and fired on from above, struggled to reascend the spur. Among these was a handful led by Capt. Burnaby of the Grenadiers. Reaching the heights he saw Russians advancing against the rear of the men with the Colours. With his 20 men he tried to bar the way. Hopelessly outnumbered, they were overwhelmed and would all have been killed had not at

that moment the French suddenly attacked. Covered by this diversion the survivors of the Guards Brigade made their way back. The battle was by no means over; but the French took over the position they had so stoutly defended and the Brigade, now only of battalion strength, reformed to protect some vital British guns.

UNIFORMS

A Grenadier Guardsman in the winter of 1854-55 has been briefly examined in '*MP* No.23, but here it is proposed to discuss more closely the appearance of the Guards Brigade on the day of Inkerman. The tall, robust, clean shaven men of the battalions which had left London in February - 'pride of England's aristocracy, flower of her sturdy peasantry' - had been transformed by November. All ranks had been permitted to grow beards in July; and since then, through constant work, hardships and privations the once-splendid Brigade had become 'so blistered with sun, so furrowed with cold winds, so frouzy with all manner of uncleanness, their wasted forms with visage formidably grim'⁽³⁾.

The uniform in which the Brigade had left England was of a pattern that had been regula-

tion for 23 years, except for minor alteration. Since the 1st Guards had been created a regiment of Grenadiers after Waterloo, with the consequent adoption for all ranks of a **bearskin cap** hitherto only worn by grenadier companies, it was decided in 1831 to accord the Coldstream and 3rd Guards similar status as regiments of Fusiliers, also with bearskin caps. The Coldstream declined the additional title, but the 3rd Guards became the Scots Fusilier Guards.

The caps of the two senior regiments were distinguished respectively by a white plume on the left side (the traditional distinction of all grenadiers) and a red one on the right, the Scots Fusiliers having no plume. By 1854 the bearskin, with brass chin-chain, had developed into a less ornate pattern than the 1831 type; before leaving England they were reduced in height by 4in., 'with a view to rendering them better adapted than at present for field service'⁽⁴⁾. That worn in the Crimea by Capt.Sir Charles Russell Bt. of the Grenadiers, now in the Guards Museum, measures just over 12in. in front, from the base of the fringe to the top, its leather lining from brow band to top being 10 in.;

it is without the cane frame of a modern bearskin, and weighs about one pound.

For undress wear all ranks had **forage caps**, but in addition another cap had been introduced as more suitable for field use, allegedly the invention of the Prince Consort. Of dark blue cloth, it could be worn fore-and-aft or athwart, and had sides which could be turned down to cover the ears or shade the eyes and neck. These were embellished with piping, gold for officers and senior NCOs, and for the rank and file red for Grenadiers, white for Coldstream; the Fusilier Guards rank and file had piping but of what colour is uncertain. On the side was a regimental badge, the Coldstream having their Garter Star on the right, the others, grenade or thistle, on the left (see colour plates Figs.D,G).

The upper garment was the swallow-tailed **coatee**, scarlet for officers and sergeants, red for rank and file and drummers, with dark blue Prussian collar and round cuffs. According to Capt.Wilson of the Coldstream, the men's were made of 'spongey, ephemeral serge'⁽⁵⁾, in contrast with the superior cloth of the officers'. For all ranks except drummers it was double breasted, unlike in the Line

where the rank and file's coatees were single breasted (see '*MP* No.6, p.12). On the cuffs and tail pockets was a scarlet/red flap or 'slash' decorated with gold or white lace, while the tails were lined and turned back with white, having a regimental badge near the base of each. Badges of varying materials were worn on the collars, mounted on gold embroidery in the case of officers and sergeants.

The buttons, gilt/brass for officers and sergeants, pewter for the men, were arranged regimentally in the double row in front, on the cuff and pocket slashes: evenly spaced for Grenadiers, pairs for Coldstream and threes for Fusiliers (see colour Fig.H). On the shoulders were detachable epaulettes: officers, gold with metal crescent and bullion fringe of varying length according to rank, which was also designated by silver regimental devices on the strap; sergeants, gold strap with brass crescent and 3in. fringe; rank and file,

1st Bn.Coldstream Guards using butt and bayonet at close quarters with the Russians. From Dickens's Officers' Portfolio of Striking Reminiscences of the War. (National Army Museum)



white cloth strap and crescent, worsted fringe (colour Fig.F).

In peacetime a black silk/leather stock was worn inside the collar by officers/men, but these had been discarded before the Crimean army left Bulgaria. A crimson waist sash was worn by all officers and sergeants, tied on the left hip; some contemporary illustrations indicate that Fusilier sergeants tied theirs on the right.

Drummers' coatees were single-breasted, with blue wings, shoulder straps and pointed cuffs. The blue collars were covered with white worsted fringe and decorated, as were the front, all seams, wings, shoulder straps, sleeves, cuffs, cuff and pocket slashes, and tails, with double or single white lace embroidered with blue fleur-de-lys (colour Fig.G).

The Guards' winter trousers were of the dark shade known as Oxford mixture, officers having a 1 in. scarlet stripe, the remainder a red welt. They were fitted with a five-button fly, and cut to come well up over the waist to ensure no gap below the bottom edge of the coatee, and well down over the heel. The length of the outside seam varied from 45in. for a man of 5ft.7in., to 49in. for a man of 6ft.; round the thigh measured 23-25in. and round the knee and bottom between

18¹/₂ -19¹/₂ in., according to the man's size. Wilson thought these 'close, ill-fitting, knee-clipping trousers' compared poorly for service with the voluminous 'pantaloons' of the French ⁽⁹⁾.

Ankle boots were prescribed for all ranks, the men's, known as 'high-lows', having no toe caps, nailed soles, and two double eyelets for the laces (see 'MI' No.6, p.15); many officers equipped themselves with Runciman shooting boots of civilian manufacture in preference to their parade boots, which they suspected would be unserviceable for active service. The men's underclothing was as described in 'MI' No.6, p.11; officers suited themselves.

By the time Inkerman was fought this clothing had seen better days. Because the army had landed in the Crimea in September without the officers' baggage or the men's knapsacks and squad bags, in which all spare clothing was packed, the coatees had been worn daily, and indeed for much of the time since leaving England. As early as July Capt.Higginson, Adjutant of the Grenadiers, had written that the red of the coatees 'from constant exposure to wet and mud are of a rich purple colour' which then faded under the hot Black Sea sun. He could, however, report that 'the

bearskins alone retain their pristine gloss' ⁽¹⁰⁾. By the end of September Wilson was bemoaning 'the discoloured, threadbare, buttonless suits of our fellows', which a fortnight later had become 'a ragged patchwork' ⁽¹¹⁾. Repairs, which the proud guardsmen would normally have effected, had been well nigh impossible as the wherewithal was in the missing knapsacks, except for some repair kits taken from dead Russians' knapsacks after the Alma.

Their trousers had seen slightly less wear as they had only been worn since September, the white linen summer variety peculiar to the Guards having been worn in Bulgaria. Even so the constant duty on picquet or in the trenches, since moving to the heights above Sebastopol, had taken its toll as each man only had the pair he stood up in. By mid-October Higginson was writing of 'trousers patched with every substitute for cloth'. He also condemned the guardsmen's boots as 'by no means adapted for wading in mud', giving the men constant wet feet and causing much sickness ⁽¹²⁾. After the Alma Wilson had noticed how several men had thrown away their boots, replacing them with the long Russian kind taken off enemy

corpses. Officers were no better off, Strange Jocelyn of the Fusiliers writing home that he was 'almost barefooted', with 'one's clothes being nearly in rags' ⁽¹³⁾.

Not all this shabbiness would have been visible at Inkerman, for on that day the Guards, like most of the Infantry, fought in greatcoats, the weather having become wet and cold. There were, however, some exceptions. Sgt.Wilden of the Coldstream observed: 'The order (to fall in) was so sudden (that) several took their places in the ranks only partly dressed; poor Captain Ramsden was killed in his brown shooting suit' ⁽¹⁴⁾. Lt.Robert Lindsay's No.1 Company of the Fusiliers had just come off picquet and was having breakfast when the firing was heard. Lindsay moved off at the double but, according to Evelyn Wood, then a midshipman with the Naval Brigade (see 'MI' No.8), 'the weight of the ammunition and the men's greatcoats induced the officer commanding to place them all in a quarry, and thus the company fought in tunics (sic) all day, the rest of the battalion

The Grenadiers' fight to save their Colours during the retreat from the Sandbag Battery. After Edward Armitage. (The Illustrated Naval & Military Magazine)





Lord Charles Fitzroy, Coldstream Guards, severely wounded in the face at Inkerman. Note the coatee, sash and sword belt. Tinted photograph. (Imperial War Museum)

wearing their greatcoats⁽¹¹⁾ (colour Fig.F).

The men's coats were single-breasted, with six buttons in front, reaching to about mid-calf, and fitted with a stand-up collar which could be turned over, and a cape over the shoulders fastened in front with two buttons. Unlike the Russian greatcoats which were of thick cloth, the British garments were of grey 'threadbare, well-worn "shoddy"', cheaply manufactured, as an officer bitterly complained 'by Contract and Routine'⁽¹²⁾. In Line regiments sergeants had their collars, cuffs

and chevrons in their facing colour, but no evidence has been found of this practice in the Guards, who seem merely to have worn their usual badges of rank on both sleeves and their waist sashes over the coat.

For officers, the 1846 Dress Regulations had stipulated, as an overgarment, a 'Cloak - blue cloth, lined with scarlet shalloon (a light cloth) for the Grenadiers and Scots Fusiliers; with white shalloon for the Coldstream'. The same cloak, lined scarlet, was specified for Line officers, but by a Horse Guards Memorandum dated 30 June 1848, dealing with dress of 'Officers of Infantry', the blue cloak was to be superseded by a 'Grey Cloak Coat, of the same colour as that of the men'. It is unclear whether this also applied to Guards' officers, but from various paintings of Inkerman and a photograph of Capt.Burnaby it would seem they were wearing coats, rather than cloaks, with a longer cape than the men's, covering the elbows. Chevalier Desanges' painting of Sir Charles Russell winning the VC at Inkerman shows him in such a coat, of a darker grey than the men's, with his sash and sword-belt outside, though other pictures show these items under the coat (colour Fig.A). Capt.Higginson, however, refers to his 'regimental cloak', which for a mounted officer, as the Adjutant was, may have been more convenient. In 1873 Higginson was supposed

to have sat for the mounted officer in Lady Butler's 'The Roll Call' ('MT' No.8, p.30), in which he is shown in a grey cloak coat, but this painting was not specifically of Inkerman⁽¹³⁾.

Whereas many Line regiments at Inkerman fought in forage caps rather than their shakos, there is ample pictorial and documentary evidence that most of the Guards turned out in their bearskins. Higginson mentions getting a bullet through his. The Coldstreamer, Capt.Tower, noticed 'how our bearskin caps towering above the bushes made our men conspicuous in the mist'⁽¹⁴⁾. On a battlefield so shrouded in fog and smoke, with both sides in grey greatcoats (though the Russians' had a yellowish hue), such a readily identifiable head-dress must have been a boon to men isolated from their comrades, as Tower himself found when almost surrounded by Russian 'flat-caps'.

Towards the rear of William Simpson's picture of Inkerman can be seen four men in field caps with a stretcher. These are probably drummers, who undertook the duties of medical orderlies in Guards battalions (colour Fig.G), assisted at Inkerman by the pioneers. In Line regiments the bandsmen

Officer's coatee, Scots Fusilier Guards. Missing are the epaulettes, two buttons each at right top and left cuff, one button at right cuff. (National Army Museum)



Plate I:

(A) Company Officer, 3rd Battalion, Grenadier Guards.

(B) Corporal, 1st Battalion, Coldstream Guards.

(C) Officers' shoulder belt plates, 3½in. x 3in.: (C1) Grenadiers - gilt, on the ball of a grenade the Crown above VR, reversed and interlaced.

(C2) Coldstream - matted gilt, with silver star of the Order of the Garter; gilt motto 'Honi Soit Qui Mal Y Pense', on blue enamel; the star mounted on a burnished silver-gilt slip.

(C3) Scots Fusiliers - frosted gilt, with silver star of the Order of the Thistle; gilt Thistle and motto 'Nemo Me Impune Lacerat', on green enamel; star mounted on burnished gilt slip. The men's plates bore the same designs but were all-brass.

(D) Field caps: (D1) Grenadiers, Officers; (D2) Coldstream, Rank & File, with badge on right; both as worn fore-and-aft. (D3) Scots Fusiliers, Senior NCOs, as worn athwart with one side forming a peak.

(E) Officers' water bottles. (Left) wood and cane, approx. 10in. long, from example belonging to Col. Edward Goulburn, Grenadiers.

(Right) Metal, with canvas cover, approx. 9in. high, 6in. wide, from example belonging to Lt. H. Jelf Sharp, Scots Fusiliers.

Plate II:

(F) Private 1st Battalion, Scots Fusiliers Guards - of Lt. Robert Lindsay's company, which discarded its greatcoats before going into action.

(G) Drummer, 3rd Battalion, Grenadier Guards in field cap, acting as medical orderly.

(H) Coatee details - spacing and design of buttons, collars and cuffs: (H1) Grenadiers, Rank & File; (H2) Coldstream, Senior NCOs; (H3) Scots Fusiliers, Officers. Rank & File collar badges of the Coldstream and Scots Fusiliers were, respectively, embroidered white Garter and Thistle Stars with a regimental button in the centre.

(I) Pouch badges: (I1) Coldstream; (I2) Scots Fusiliers. The Grenadiers' device is shown at (J).

(J) Detail of pouch and bayonet belts, showing how the weight of the pouch was partially borne by the bayonet belt by means of two short straps sewn on the inside centre and edge of the pouch and attached to studs on the inside of the bayonet belt. This device also served to steady the accoutrements.

performed this task, but the Guards regimental bands remained at home. In view of the hurry in which the battalions had been turned out there may well have been other guardsmen in field caps, since these had been permitted for night guards and picquets since the beginning of November. The detachment of 'sharpshooters', drawn from all three battalions and commanded by Capt. Goodlake, Coldstream



A



C1



C2



C3



B

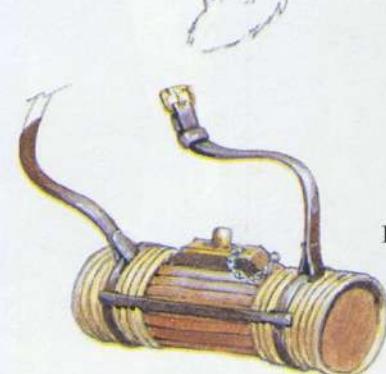


D1

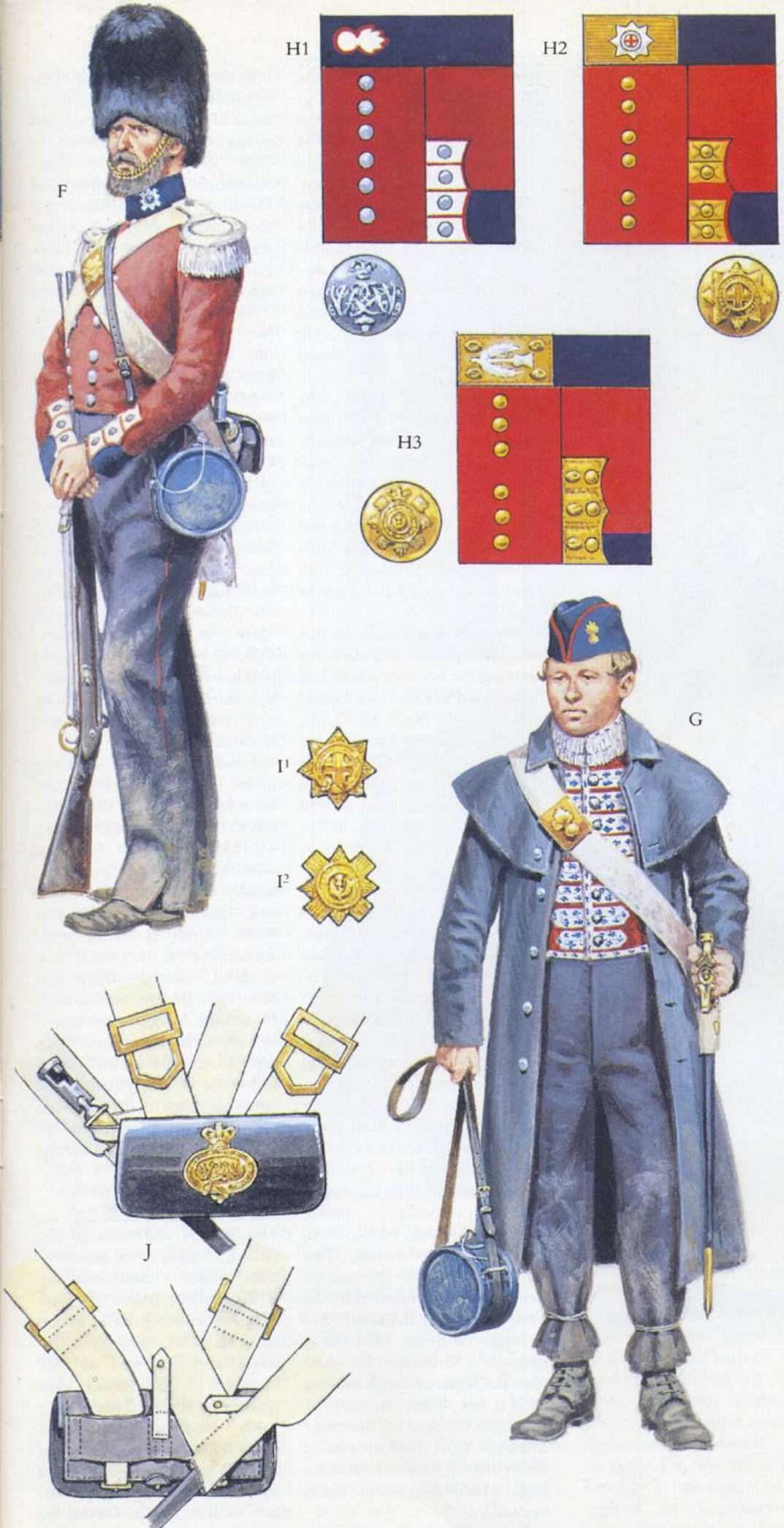


D2

D3



E



Guards, and who at Inkerman fought in a different part of the field, seem to have worn field caps for their duties; Desanges' painting of Goodlake winning the VC at the action of 'Little Inkerman' on 26 October shows his men in them while Goodlake himself is in some type of civilian cap. His field cap can be seen in the Guards Museum.

The turned-up trousers, so common a feature of Crimean pictures, reflect a comment of Wilson's on the superiority of the French infantry's gaiters, into which their trousers were tucked, over the 'heavy flopping of wet, miry cloth around (the British soldier's) ankles'⁽⁵⁾. Higginson, too, remarked on how the 'ragged trouser was tied round the ankle with string' by some of his Grenadiers as another means of reducing the inconvenience and fraying of the loose trouser bottoms⁽¹⁵⁾ (colour Fig.G).

EQUIPMENT

Every guardsman was accoutred with the basic essentials of his task: his pouch and bayonet belts, both of buff leather, 2 in. wide, passing over the left and right shoulders respectively, under the greatcoat's cape, to suspend the pouch and bayonet behind the right and left hips. Where the belts crossed on the chest they were secured by a brass plate of the same design as the officers' sword belt plates (colour Fig.C).

The Guards' rank and file pouches measured 9in. long, 4in. high, and 3in. wide in the box, the flap overlapping by 1in. vertically and horizontally; their sergeants' were about 1 in. less in length and height. Peculiar to the Guards were the brass regimental plates on the flap, and the brass-tipped ends of the pouch belt which passed through the brass buckles attached to the straps which were secured to the underside pouch buckles. To steady the accoutrements and to apportion part of the ammunition's weight to the bayonet belt, Queen's Regulations 1844 required two extra straps: 'one to be sewn close to the left of the Pouch, one half-inch from the top, to pass horizontally round the Bayonet scabbard, to a stud



Sergeant, Scots Fusilier Guards, before the war in white summer trousers and full size cap. Note collar embroidery, sash tied on right hip, and the sword. (National Army Museum)

fixed on the inside of the Bayonet Belt; the other to be sewn on the inside and near the centre of the Pouch, near the top, to pass to a second stud on the inside of the Bayonet Belt' (colour Figs.I, J). Whatever the merits of this device, it did not improve access to the ammunition; it could of course be disconnected, but even then rounds were easily dropped, and Wilson records a soldier having to ask his officer to get a round out for him.

Besides its 60 rounds, the pouch also contained 100 percussion caps. A few for immediate use were carried in a small leather pouch fitted into a slit pocket on the front of the coatee, but the Coldstream had for this purpose a small buff-leather pouch attached to the front of the pouch belt (colour Fig.B).

None of the battalions had the 1850 pattern waistbelt for carrying the bayonet which had been issued to some Line battalions (see 'MI' No.6, pp.13,15); all NCOs and men had the same shoulder belt, except that sergeants, who carried swords as well as bayonets, had a second opening in the frog part, below that for the bayonet scabbard, to take the sword.

Company officers suspended their swords from a white buff-leather shoulder belt, 3in. wide, with a frog and belt plate (colour Fig.A). Field officers, being mounted, had a waistbelt with slings, of russia leather with three stripes of gold embroidery. Adjutants also had sling waistbelts, but of white leather.

Drummers had a buff-leather shoulder belt, with brass plate, for their swords (colour Fig.G.). Its frog seems to have been like the officers' so that the sword hung vertically, unlike sergeants' swords which hung aslant, like the bayonet. This can be seen in a drawing of Scots Fusiliers' drummers by the French officer, J-E. Vanson, and is suggested in an 1853 lithograph of a Grenadier drummer after B. Clayton, though the frog itself is not visible. In an 1851 print of a Coldstream drummer from the right front no part of his sword can be seen behind his legs, which suggests it hangs vertically.

Because of the hurried

turnout and the varying circumstances of different companies - some in tents, others coming off picquet - it is impossible to say with certainty what other equipment was carried at Inkerman. It seems likely that most men would have had their water bottles, the antique, blue-painted, metal-bound wooden type with brown leather strap, 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. in diameter, 4in. deep (see 'MI' No.6, p.15). A surviving example belonging to Pte. Coles of No.8 Company of the Grenadiers has the following roughly carved on it: B10/1854/D COLES/8C 3B GG. Holding about half a gallon, this 'rude keg', as Wilson called it, was heavy, clumsy, and much inferior to the French and Russian types, and its continued issue by the authorities, he cynically suggested, was justified by 'its glorious associations' with 'duty in the Peninsula'⁽¹⁰⁾. Officers with any foresight had purchased their own from civilian sources and two, based on surviving examples, are shown at colour Fig.E.

Edward Armitage's painting of the Grenadiers at Inkerman, for which he visited the battalion in the Crimea in the spring of 1855, shows the odd man with the coarse linen haversack, usually containing the man's daily rations and sometimes loose rounds as being more accessible than the pouch. It is doubtful whether there had been time to issue rations on 5 November before marching off so haversacks would have been superfluous, though men who had come in off picquet would have had them on. When worn they were slung over the left shoulder, water bottles over the right.

WEAPONS

The NCOs and men of the Guards Brigade were all armed with the muzzle-loading, .702in. calibre, Minié rifle with 17in., equiangular socket bayonet. This has been illustrated and described in 'MI' No.6, pp.12,16, so its particulars will not be repeated here.

On leaving England only some 30% of the Brigade had had this weapon, the remainder having the smooth bore percussion musket. To the Guards the Minié had been a new, untested

weapon and its much enhanced range and accuracy had been so little understood that, as Higginson wrote, its superiority over the percussion musket had not as yet 'shaken the belief that the bayonet and close quarters were the best tactics of the British soldier'.⁽¹⁷⁾ (Such also was the prevailing theory in the Russian infantry, as they demonstrated again and again at Inkerman.) By then, however, thanks to concentrated musketry practice during the month spent at Malta, to the complete issue of Miniés in late May, and to the experience of the Alma, the advantages of a rifle over the Russian smoothbores had become fully appreciated. Though there was ample opportunity for the bayonet at Inkerman, it was superior musketry with the Minié that most decimated the Russian attacks, sometimes by volleys but mostly, due to the fragmented nature of the fighting, by file-firing or independent fire (see '*MP*' No.6, p.16, footnote).

Men found that, with the bayonet, it was difficult to penetrate the long, thick Russian coats or, if extreme force succeeded in doing so, it was then not easy to withdraw. Only by thrusting at the exposed face or neck could an opponent be brought down. If the bayonet bent, or the pouch was empty, men resorted to brute force with their butts. Wilson was shocked by the aspect of 'faces beaten down into purple jelly (from) bludgeoning by rifle butts'.⁽¹⁸⁾ According to Kinglake, Pte. Bancroft of the Grenadiers, when assailed in quick succession by five Russians, and receiving two bayonet wounds, dealt with them all 'by fire, by steel, and by the sole of his boot' - for which last he was rebuked by Sgt. Alger for 'kicking a man that was down'.⁽¹⁹⁾

The sword carried by Guards officers, as prescribed by the 1846 Dress regulations, was the 1822 pattern with gilt, half basket, 'Gothic' hilt with 'VR' in a cartouche ('MP' No.19, p.15) and the 1845 pattern, 32½in. blade. Its knot had a crimson and gold lace strap with bullion tassel, and the scabbard was brass for Field Officers and Adjutants, black leather with gilt mountings for others. From



early 1854 the hilt was to be steel, with a regimental badge in the cartouche instead of the Royal Cypher. However, a sword made in 1845 for a Grenadier officer, with the grenade instead of 'VR', suggests that this regiment may have anticipated the change. Furthermore, it seems unlikely that officers of the battalions ordered East in February 1854 would have had time to change to the new steel hilts.

The performance of these

swords depended on the manufacturer. Wilson recorded that 'Wilkinson's cutlery stood the test well', but his own 'recreant blade, which had been bought of the tailor who rigged me out on appointment with an all-in-the-lump purchase of equipment, bent like a thing of pewter over the thick skull of an unpleasantly forward Calmuck'.⁽²⁰⁾ On the other hand, Kinglake's account of the exploits of Capt. Burnaby⁽²¹⁾, who despatched at least six

Top:
Private's coatee, Coldstream Guards.
Two buttons missing bottom right
front. (National Army Museum)

Above:
Drummer's coatee, Grenadier
Guards. Coldstream and Fusiliers'
drummers had the single lace doubled
on sleeves and back seams. (National
Army Museum)



Left:
Reduced bearskin cap as worn by Colour-Sergeant Macpherson, Scots Fusilier Guards, with post-war tunic and equipment. The same rank badge was worn on the coatee, sergeants' chevrons being without the crown, colour badge and crossed swords. The Sergeant-Major and Quartermaster-Sergeant had four chevrons, the former with the Royal Arms superimposed. (National Army Museum)

he also carried a Minié, according to the Desanges painting of him. Sir Charles Russell began the fight which was to win him the VC an with Adams but soon seized an enemy rifle and bayonet, of the Brunswick type used by Russian Rifle battalions, which he carried all day; both weapons can also be seen in the Guards Museum.

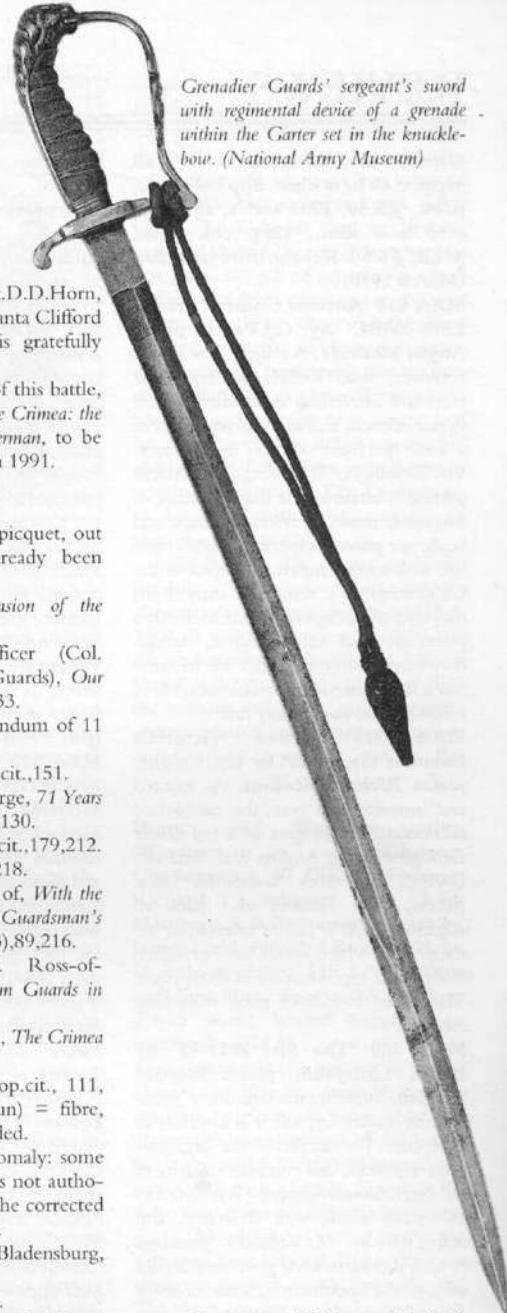
When the 1822 pattern sword was introduced, its Gothic hilt was to serve for all infantry officers, **sergeants and drummers**, the latter having a blade 3in. shorter than the others'. However, the Grenadiers' sergeants had a special sword with brass lion's-head pommel and brass knucklebow bearing a grenade within the Garter. A Vanson drawing of a Grenadier sergeant shows this sword so, on the principle existing since 1802 of sergeants and drummers having the same hilts, colour Fig.G is shown similarly armed. No clear evidence of Coldstream sergeants' and drummers' hilts has been found, but a roughly executed engraving of a drummer in 1856 suggests the Gothic hilt, which is what seems to be depicted in Vinter's 1855 lithographs of Sgt.Mins and Dmr.Watkins of the Coldstream. Fusilier Guards' sergeants had also had a special sword, but the Vanson drawing of their drummers shows the drum-major with

what looks like a Gothic hilt, a boy drummer apparently having the same, though part of his hilt is obscured by his arm, while his blade is perhaps 5in., rather than 3in. shorter than the drum-major's. Since drummers varied in size from grown men to small boys - Thomas Keep of the Grenadiers was only ten - it seems unlikely their swords were a uniform length.

It is known that Thomas Keep survived. For boys like him, with something little better than a dagger to defend themselves, the most sensible course was to dodge and run if attacked by a 'broad-shouldered, sinewy Muscovite'. But whatever their age and size, they too were Guardsmen, usually born in their regiments; and for them, like their older comrades, there was no running from the dreadful fight around the Sandbag Battery.

M1

Grenadier Guards' sergeant's sword with regimental device of a grenade within the Garter set in the knucklebow. (National Army Museum)



The assistance of Capt.D.D.Horn, Grenadier Guards, and Atalanta Clifford of the Guards Museum is gratefully acknowledged.

For a detailed account of this battle, see the author's *Heroes of the Crimea: the Battles of Balaclava and Inkerman*, to be published by Cassell, March 1991.

Notes

- (1) One company was on picquet, out on the left, and had already been engaged.
- (2) Kinglake, A.W., *Invasion of the Crimea*, Vol.V (1875),222.
- (3) A Regimental Officer (Col. C.T.Wilson, Coldstream Guards), *Our Veterans of 1854* (1859),3,333.
- (4) Horse Guards Memorandum of 11 Feb. 1854.
- (5) Regimental Officer, op.cit.,151.
- (6) Higginson, Gen.Sir George, *71 Years of a Guardsman's Life* (1916)130.
- (7) Regimental Officer, op.cit.,179,212.
- (8) Higginson, op.cit.,182,218.
- (9) Airlie, Mabel Countess of, *With the Guards We Shall Go: A Guardsman's Letters from the Crimea* (1933),89,216.
- (10) Quoted Lt. Col. Ross-of-Bladensburg, *The Coldstream Guards in the Crimea* (1897),174.
- (11) Wood, Gen.Sir Evelyn, *The Crimea 1854 and 1894* (1895).
- (12) Regimental Officer, op.cit., 111, 141, 151. Shoddy (as noun) = fibre, made from old cloth shredded.
- (13) It also contains an anomaly: some men are wearing the gaiters not authorised until 1859 - an error she corrected in her *Return from Inkerman*.
- (14) Quoted Ross-of-Bladensburg, op.cit.,167.
- (15) Higginson, op.cit.,196.
- (16) Regimental Officer, op.cit.,158.
- (17) Higginson, op.cit.,93.
- (18) Regimental Officer, op.cit.,317.
- (19) Kinglake, op.cit.,253-4.
- (20) Regimental Officer, op.cit.,291.
- (21) Kinglake, op.cit.,248-50,278-85.

Greatcoats and field caps with thistle badge worn by wounded Scots Fusilier Guardsmen. Note the thin cloth of the coats. In some cases regimental buttons have been replaced by plain. (Imperial War Museum)



REVIEWS

Osprey Men-at-Arms series, all 48pp, c.40 b/w illus., 8pp col. illus., p/bk, £5.50; Elite series, all 64pp, c.50 b/w illus., 12pp col. illus., p/bk, £6.50. Recent titles include: (March 1990)

MAA 218 'Ancient Chinese Armies 1500-200BC' by C.J.Peers, plates Angus McBride. A subject new to this reviewer, who found Mr.Peers' text clear and interesting as an introduction to the essential military characteristics of a wide spectrum of states and periods. The difficulty of illustrating such ancient periods is obvious; the usual mixture of diagrams, museum artefacts, maps and landscape photos is more or less successful, with several superb examples of the Ch'in emperor's 'terracotta army' from the end of the period. Mr.McBride's plates are vital and colourful, though they betray a thin reference file in some cases; the Western Chou chariot crew of c.800 BC are particularly fine.

MAA 219 'Queen Victoria's Enemies (3): India' by Ian Knight, plates Richard Scollins. As spirited and interesting as ever, this established author/artist team give us a fast canter through the First Afghan War, Sind and Gwalior, the Sikh Wars, the Great Mutiny, the Frontier and back to Afghanistan. It is full of interest, as are the photos, which would have benefited from larger reproduction in some cases. The plates are full of good modelling subjects.

MAA 220 'The SA, 1921-45' by David Littlejohn, plates Ronald Volstad. Stretches the definition 'men-at-arms' rather far, but it is churlish to complain. The subject - the organisation, uniforms, and complex insignia of the Nazi *Sturmabteilungen* - is covered in exhaustive detail, well illustrated, and enlivened by Mr.Volstad's paintings (which include several genuinely armed units of the organisation, some of them dramatic and unusual figures).

MAA 221 'Central America Wars 1959-89' by Carlos Caballero Jurado & Nigel Thomas, plates Simon McCouaig. Unusual and up-to-the-minute title, covering the guerrilla wars in the region from Castro's success in Cuba to the immediate eve of the Panama campaign of last year. Countries covered include Cuba, Mexico, Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic. The chapters generally give a potted history of the state, a break-down of current government forces, and a brief guide to active insurgent groups. The authors wisely stand back from any comment on the moral aspects of these often savagely cruel conflicts, limiting themselves to factual reporting. The monochrome illustrations vary widely in quality; the plates are colourful, and specific in detail. The Nicaraguan section is particularly strong.

(May 1990)

E28 'Medieval Siege Warfare' by Christopher Gravett, plates Richard & Christa Hook. Informative, full of specific detail about particular castles and sieges, and well illustrated. The photos and plates are of a very high standard; the latter are reconstructions, in

most cases, of actual incidents characteristic of particular techniques. Highly recommended for both its comprehensive scope in a small book, and its originality in a field often covered less than excitingly by other publishers, content to repeat secondary material.

E29 'Vietnam Airborne' by Gordon Rottman, plates Ron Volstad. You couldn't buy a book on the subject giving better value for money. The text covers not only American but also all allied airborne-qualified forces which fought in Vietnam. The lineage and combat record of all units are described; the photos are varied and of reasonable quality; and the plates subjects - uniforms, personal equipment, jump rigs, insignia, etc. - are richly detailed, highly specific, and most attractive. Highly recommended; Messrs.Rottman and Volstad are now established as a team as strong as Messrs.Haythornthwaite and Fosten in their period.

(July 1990)

MAA 222 'The Age of Tamerlane' by Dr.David Nicolle, plates Angus McBride. The fighting men of the great Central Asian conqueror and his enemies, 14th-15th centuries, described and illustrated in the style for which this author and artist are renowned. Packed with detail, richly illustrated, and a feast for the modeller and wargamer. The sheer colour and variety of these collaborations between Nicolle and McBride are unrivalled. Highly recommended.

MAA 223 'Austrian Specialist Troops of the Napoleonic Wars' by P.J.Haythornthwaite, plates Bryan Fosten. Third in this mini-series (see also MAAs 176 and 181 on Infantry and Cavalry), covering artillery, transport, engineers, pioneers, pontooners, medical and general staff departments. Most of the mono illustrations are from Offenfeld, as full of character as of detail. Mr.Fosten's plates are as clean and attractive as ever. Excellent value.

MAA 224 'Queen Victoria's Enemies (4): Asia, Australasia and the Americas' by Ian Knight, plates Richard Scollins. Necessarily something of a 'grab-bag' since it mops up the smaller campaigns, this last in an impressive mini-series covers 19th century China, Bhutan, Tibet, Burma, the East Indies, New Zealand, Australia, Canada and the West Indies. Photos are particularly good in the Burmese, Chinese and New Zealand sections. This series now offers modellers and wargamers an accessible and colourful reference to file alongside the superb titles by Michael Barthorp and Pierre Turner on Queen Victoria's armies. Taken together these eight titles are a splendid achievement.

MAA 225 'The Royal Air Force 1939-45' by Andrew Cormack, plates Ron Volstad. At last - a specific, authoritative illustrated guide to the uniform, insignia and flying equipment of Second World War aircrew and groundcrew. Mr.Cormack, a curator at the RAF Museum, Hendon devotes his whole text to the clothing and equipment aspect, illustrated with useful and well-selected photos. The plates are remarkable - Mr.Volstad has an unrivalled talent for illustrating complex

layers of equipment in clear style. The 'bale-out' and 'locker-room' plates (F&G) are extraordinary. Highly recommended; now, can we please have similar titles on America and German equivalents?

(September 1990)

E30 'Attila and the Nomad Hordes' by Dr.David Nicolle, plates Angus McBride. When one considers that only a few years ago it was simply impossible to find pictorial reference to this kind of subject on which one could place any reliance, one marvels at how spoils we have become. It is a serious problem writing brief reviews of several titles together without giving a false impression that one is simply repeating the 'publisher's blurb' - but the prolific pen and brush of Nicolle and McBride really do merit close attention. Another superbly detailed and attractive title for the 'ancient' enthusiasts.

E31 'US Army Airborne 1940-90' by Gordon Rottman, plates Ron Volstad. The use of smaller than usual type signals a massive compressed piece of research. The highly complex history of the US Army's airborne units is traced not just through the well-known campaigns but continuously over 50 years, with explanations of the many changes in organisation and titling. Unit history, tabular matter, a magnificent selection of photos from private and unit sources; and twelve splendid colour plates packed with full-length and half-length figures in every type of jump, combat, barracks, training and service uniform and insignia. This extraordinary effort is much better value for money than many books costing four times as much; and the author's many years' service as a senior Airborne NCO lend it great authority. Highly recommended.

JS

'English Battles and Sieges in the Peninsula' by Lt.Gen.Sir William Napier, published by R.J.Leach & Co., 38 Inglemere Road, Forest Hill, London SE23 2BE; 469 pp.; £23.00

Most readers of this review will know of Sir William Napier's famed *History of the War in the Peninsula and in the South of France* (published 1828-40), which is regarded as a genuine classic of both military history and literature, written by a most distinguished participant of these campaigns. *English Battles and Sieges in the Peninsula*, published originally in 1855 (five years before the author's death) is based upon the great six-volume history; but on no account should those with access to the original text overlook this volume, for, as the author states in his preface, substantial parts 'have been entirely recomposed'. The result is a fascinating and lucid account of the British Army in this most vital campaign of the Napoleonic Wars, enlivened by footnotes and personal anecdotes not present in the original edition. *History of the War in the Peninsula* attracted much attention upon its appearance, both laudatory and critical, in challenge of Napier's statements and opinions, and in *Battles and Sieges* the doughty author expands his sources ('My authority is the Duke of Wellington' he states in one case, presumably destroying one criticism!); and

takes a cut at his critics, such as those of the *Quarterly Review*, for 'indulging in the graceless effrontery of assertion so common with anonymous critics'! Elsewhere, Napier corrects his admitted errors (such as his statement that the 92nd Highlanders were all Irishmen). More interesting still are the anecdotes introduced into this edition; for example, that concerning Sgt.Robert McQuade at the Coa, aged 24, who saved the life of his 16-year-old officer by pulling him aside from a suicidal position with the remark that 'You are too young, Sir, to be killed', and, pushing forward in the boy's stead, was himself shot dead. The officer whose life was saved was none other than George Brown, of later Crimean fame.

Excellently produced and bound, this welcome re-issue deserves much success, and at a reasonable price is recommended highly.

PJH

'The British Soldier in the 20th Century' Series, by Mike Chappell; Wessex Military Publishing, PO Box 19, Okehampton, Devon EX20 3NQ; all 24pp inc.4pp col.illus.; b/w illus. throughout; p/bk, £4.95

The latest four titles in this useful and attractive series of booklets are to hand: No.8, *The Vickers Machine Gun*; No.9, *Combat Dress 1950 to Present Day*; No.10, *Airborne Uniforms*; and a Regimental Special, *The Gloucestershire Regiment*, from pre-1914 to the present. The format will be familiar to readers by now: a short text, about 40 photos, and four colour pages packed with uniformed figure paintings and enlarged details in Mr.Chappell's usual meticulous style. These inexpensive publications contain a great deal of information, and there always seems to be something new and intriguing - Mr Chappell is probably unique in his combination of personal military experience, years of research and collecting, and artistic skill. Modellers, in particular, will find some superb ideas for figures here: the Vickers crewmen of both 1918 and 1945; Glosters of both World Wars and in Korea; the parachutist of X Tp., 11 SAS on the Tragino Aqueduct raid; and several others. This series is excellent value, and well worth collecting in the binders which are also available. Highly recommended.

JS

'The Marengo Collection', published by Pepperbox Arts, 20 Headcorn Road, Platts Heath, nr.Maidstone, Kent ME17 2NH; see review for prices.

Accurate maps are absolutely invaluable for any study of a campaign, and there is often considerable difficulty in obtaining detailed information on the terrain of historic battlefields, as it appeared at the time. 'The Marengo Collection' is therefore an undertaking of considerable significance, being the reproduction in facsimile of a series of maps from Louis Adolphe Thiers' *Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire*, the maps published in Brussels in 1860. Six sets of maps are available, 20 in total: (Set A) Marengo, Austerlitz, Ulm and Jena-Auerstadt; (Set B) the 1807 Polish campaign, including Eylau and Friedland; (Set C) the 1809 Danube campaign; (Set



D) the Peninsular War fortresses; (Set E) the Russian campaign, including Borodino; and (Set F) the 'war of liberation' including Bautzen and Leipzig; Brienne, Montereau and Montmirail on one map; and Waterloo. Sets D and E comprise two maps each, the remainder four; all are in a limited edition of 500 copies of each set.

The maps are closely detailed, very clear, and reproduced in large scale on fine A2 parchment; they show exhaustive details of terrain, unencumbered by troop-symbols which are readily available elsewhere. Not only is the information contained in the maps clear, but the standard of production is superb, printed in black on high-quality parchment, so that in addition to being reference-material, when framed they would make fine large wall-decorations (with margins some 26 x 17 inches), either in the ordinary black and white or hand-coloured - a service available from the publisher. Sets are not inexpensive - D and E are £21.50, the others £42.50 per set, or (at a considerable saving) £213 for the entire collection, all prices inclusive of carriage and packing; but given the quality of the product and the rarity of the original work, they should not be overlooked by historians or wargamers who wish to have detailed information on the battlefields. Pepperbox Arts are to be congratulated on making this material available again after so many years, and on the standard of their reproduction. Highly recommended.

A different and inexpensive series of Napoleonic campaign-maps is also planned (expectedly before Christmas) by Pepperbox Arts, which as with the Marengo Collection should be welcomed by all Napoleonic enthusiasts.

PJH

COLONIAL ROUND-UP

'Victoria's Enemies' by Donald Featherstone; Blandford Press; £14.95

'Narrative of the Field Operations Connected with the Zulu War of 1879' published by Greenhill Books; £16.50

'Eyewitness in Zululand' by Lt. Col. I.H.W. Bennett; Greenhill Books; £16.95

'Campaigns: Zulu 1879, Egypt 1882, Suakin 1885' by Guy C. Dawnay; Ken Trotman Military History Monographs No.15; £13.50

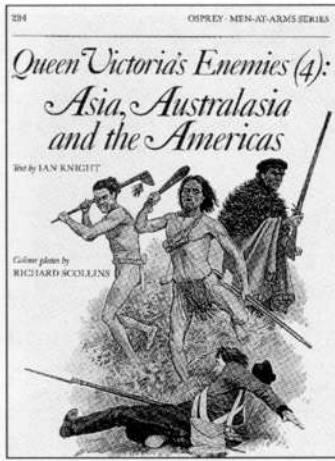


'The Empire at War' by John Bowie; Batsford; £12.95

For too long the various peoples who withstood the advance of the British Empire have been regarded as so much exotic cannon-fodder, their military systems and martial qualities known only from the ill-informed or patronising comments of their opponents; so it is a pleasure to see them the subject of Donald Featherstone's latest book, *Victoria's Enemies*, which takes an A to Z approach, devoting a brief chapter to each from Abyssinians to Zulus. In each case something of their history is described, together with organisational details, costume and weapons. Inevitably, however, covering such a wide area in a single title means that there is a danger of omission and superficiality, and the book works best as an introduction to the subject. The Russian Army of the Crimea, for instance, is covered in the same space as the Métis of Canada; and, although we have Baluchis and Mahrattas, there is, curiously, nothing on the rebel coalitions of the Indian Mutiny.

Most of the illustrations are contemporary engravings, which are full of period atmosphere, but often weakest precisely in the areas of enemy appearance - unfamiliar to the engraver - which they have chosen to illustrate here. On the whole, indeed, the book is marred by an over-dependence on outsiders' descriptions which fail to set their subjects within their correct cultural context. Thus the section on the 'Kaffirs' for example, gives a good impression of what it was like fighting against the Xhosa in the bush of the Eastern Cape Frontier, but less on how the Xhosa armies were raised, functioned, and developed over the century of conflict. There is still much to be done in translating the fruits of current academic work in this field into popular history before we will achieve a more balanced view of the so-called 'Colonial Small Wars'; this book is a step in the right direction, but there is a way to go.

Greenhill Books continue their policy of re-issuing out-of-print titles with a thoroughly worth-while reprint of the *Narrative of the Field Operations Connected with the Zulu War of 1879*. This was the official history of the War, published by the War Office after the event; as such it is, of course, a detailed narrative record which presents the 'establishment' view of the causes of the war and avoids the more controversial areas of the campaign, particularly



Isandlwana, of which it presents an account of events now widely challenged. Nevertheless it is still a crucial history, the framework upon which most subsequent accounts are based, and an important record of a wealth of technical information, from the dates Colonial units were raised and disbanded to the number of wagons purchased by the Transport Departments, and the overall cost of the war. This edition also includes the original maps which, based on surveys made by officers on the spot, inevitably form the basis of any subsequent battle interpretations. Whatever its limitations, no study of the Zulu War can be complete without reference to this book.

Lt. Col. Ian Bennett's *Eyewitness in Zululand* is subtitled 'The Campaign Reminiscences of Colonel W. A. Dunne, 1877-81'. Dunne was a Commissariat Officer during the last of the Cape Frontier Wars, and went on to serve in the Zulu War - he was in charge of the supplies collected at Rorke's Drift, and was present during the battle - and later took part in the 1881 Transvaal War, when he was stationed at Potchefstroom during the siege by the Boers. He was therefore in a unique position to observe these crucial campaigns, and indeed Dunne left a brisk account of his adventures, published twenty years later in a regimental journal, which forms the basis of the book. To this Ian Bennett has added a brief history of southern Africa and of the wars Dunne describes. Much of this will be familiar to students of the period, although the author's account of the hopeless transport situation in southern Africa, and in particular the way in which it influenced Lord Chelmsford's strategy in 1879, is a significant addition to our understanding of the campaign, and Dunne's journal is an important eye-witness account. It was clearly intended as a résumé of his career for interested professional colleagues, however, and, whilst his account of Potchefstroom is detailed and vivid, there are few personal revelations about Rorke's Drift, despite the prominent part he played in it. Nonetheless, *Eyewitness in Zululand* serves to focus attention on a neglected area of the period, and Zulu enthusiasts will find it an essential purchase.

No less adventurous was Guy Dawnay, whose diary, privately published in the 1880s, forms the subject of Ken Trotman's latest monograph. Dawnay volunteered for service in

Zululand after hearing of the disaster at Isandlwana, and arrived in the field to take part in the Eshowe relief campaign, the battle of Gingindlovu, and the subsequent second invasion and battle of Ulundi. He later served in Egypt, fighting at Tel-El-Kebir, and at Suakin, against Uthman Digna's Beja, where he was given the job of supervising camel transport, and has much to say about its frustrations. The diary would have benefited from the addition of an introduction, which presumably cost has prevented; but Dawnay himself was a keen observer and an expressive writer, and his accounts of daily duties are as vivid and lively as those of the great battles in which he participated. Ken Trotman are to be congratulated on making his journal widely available.

John Bowie's *The Empire At War* is basically a collection of contemporary photographs of campaigns from 1848 to 1908. It is quite a nice collection, and the photos are well reproduced, but it is aimed at the general reader rather than the military enthusiast, and few of the scenes included will be new to students of the various campaigns. JK

Heroes and Warriors series: 'Warriors of Christendom: Charlemagne, El Cid, Barbarossa, Richard Lionheart' by John Matthews & Bob Stewart, plates by James Field: Firebird Books; 192pp; 16 colour plates; 135 b/w photos and line illus.; four p/bk sections £4.95 each; bound together in hardback, £14.95

This is probably the best so far in the Heroes and Warriors series. It has the dramatic presentation and abundant illustration characteristics of the series; but it also suffers the disadvantages associated with such a format. For example, the colour plates are exciting but excessively bloodthirsty, even given the nature of their subjects. Is it really necessary to show a monk throwing up? The plates are also moderately accurate, as considerable effort has obviously been made to deal with a difficult period; on the other hand the Muslim figures are far less accurate, and given the fact that Britain has one of the largest Islamic minorities in western Europe there is no excuse for showing Muslims praying in three different directions at once! Authors and artist have also swallowed the highly coloured accounts of medieval Christian chroniclers without much attempt at selection.

The maps are clear and concise, if somewhat meagre with their information; and the black and white photographs are excellent. The line drawings are a mixed bunch: they present plenty of facts but still include too many ludicrous 19th century ideas on arms, armour and costume. Yet, if other publishers see fit to re-issue the worst rather than the best of outdated armour books, what can a non-specialist author be expected to do? A few pictures are also simply irrelevant: what, for example, has the doubtfully dated but basically Byzantine Skylitzes Manuscript got to do with 11th century Spain? - unless it was to shed light on North African military styles, which is not

continued on page 44

The First BEF Gas Respirators, 1915 (1)

SIMON JONES

On 22 April 1915 chlorine gas was simultaneously liberated from over 5,500 cylinders in German trenches north of Ypres. The German 23rd and 16th Reserve Corps advanced cautiously behind the green clouds, and found that the French 87th Territorial and 45th Algerian Divisions 'had run away like a flock of sheep' ⁽¹⁾.

There was no precedent in warfare for such an attack; the Allies had the means neither to protect their troops nor to retaliate. Eight subsequent chlorine attacks during the Second Battle of Ypres in April and May 1915 affected Canadian, British and Indian troops. It is the counter-measures introduced in the British Expeditionary Force that are examined here.

FIELD IMPROVISATION

The day after the attack the first instructions concerning protection, from British GHQ at St.Omer, were that field dressings should be soaked in bicarbonate of soda and used as respirators. Chlorine killed by causing throat spasms or by irritating the lungs to such an extent that they flooded with fluid and the victim 'drowned'. A cloth dipped in an alkaline solution, such as urine, could be used to neutralise it, and plain water would also have some effect. When no respirators arrived from the rear, many units in the field took matters into their own hands. The 27th Division at Ypres arranged for lint strips with tapes to be made by nuns at Poperinghe Convent. Three thousand were sent to the trenches by the following evening.

On 24 April there was a

second attack, against the Canadians who had held out on the left flank of the French two days before (see also 'MI' No.29, p.31). The 8th Bn. (Winnipeg Rifles), 2nd Brigade, 1st Canadian Division had made some rudimentary preparations. Sgt.Knobel, a chemist in civil life, ensured that they had handkerchiefs and cotton bandoliers, to be held over the mouth after wetting from dixies of water placed in the trenches. Breathing through damp cloths could remove sufficient of the chlorine to prevent men from collapsing, provided it had become well diluted while drifting from the German lines. A Winnipeg Rifles officer, Maj.Matthews, described seeing a greenish-yellow wall of vapour at least 15ft. high which enveloped his men in less than three minutes:

'It is impossible for me to give a real idea of the terror and horror spread among us all by this filthy loathsome pestilence... Many of course were absolutely overcome and collapsed to the ground, but the majority succeeded in manning the parapet... When the fumes were full on us breathing became most difficult, it was hard to resist the temptation to tear away the damp rags from our mouths in the struggle for air. The trench presented a

weird spectacle, men were coughing, spitting, cursing and grovelling on the ground and trying to be sick' ⁽²⁾.

Capt.G.W.Northwood recalled that the wet handkerchiefs 'undoubtedly saved many of us from being completely overcome and we were able when the enemy came over to give them a warm reception' ⁽³⁾. Eventually the effects of the chlorine gas and relentless, unprecedented shelling forced the Canadians from their trenches.

While this attack was in progress a respirator soaked with lime water, based on a chloroform inhaler, was improvised behind the British lines at the Bethune 'bomb factory', a large workshop used for the manufacture of trench warfare weapons and stores. Involved in the tests, Lt.Col.Fawcett inhaled too much chlorine and suffered 'something like a severe asthma attack'. His lips and cheeks turned blue, a symptom of chlorine poisoning as the blood becomes starved of oxygen. Within a week 60,000 'Bethune' respirators were produced at the bomb factory.

On 26 April a counter-attack by Indian troops against the German positions lost on 22 April was met by clouds of chlorine, released on the initiative of a German battalion or company commander, and the attack broke up in confusion. In the 57th Wilde's Rifles, Ferozepore Brigade, Lahore Division several men were left incapacitated; 'the remainder being unable either to combat or understand the gas, turned and went, as it was no good stopping to be mowed down by MG fire and bombs' ⁽⁴⁾, recorded the adjutant, Lt.Bainbridge. All

units of the Lahore Division had been supplied the previous day with bicarbonate of soda, and the medical officer of the 1st Connaught Rangers, Ferozepore Brigade, reported that cloths soaked in this and held over the mouth and nose lessened the effects of the gas.

On the same day more instructions were issued by GHQ on the advice of an Intelligence Corps officer, Lt.George P.Pollitt, who only the previous month had been in Zurich using his profession of industrial chemist as a cover to organise spying. He suggested

RUSH JOB FOR WOMEN.

RESPIRATORS FOR OUR TROOPS.

ALL HOMES CAN HELP.

There is quick work to be done by our women. To protect our soldiers from the effects of German gas attacks, respirators are wanted without a minute's delay. The War Office at midnight last night issued the following appeal:

Supplies of one or both of the following types of respirator are required by the troops at the front. Either can be made ready in any household.

First—A flat piece to cover mouth and nostrils formed of an oblong pad of bleached, absorbent cotton wool, about 5in. x 3in. x 1in., covered with three layers of bleached cotton gauze and fitted with a band to fit round the head and keep the pad in position. The band to consist of a piece of half-inch cotton elastic 16in long attached to the narrow end of the flat pad so as to form a loop with the pad.

Second—A piece of double stockingette, 9in. long, 3in. in width, in the centre gradually diminishing in width to 2in. at each end, with a piece of thick plaited wire about 3in. long attached at each end so as to form a loop to pass over the ears.

These respirators should be sent in packages of not less than 100 to the Chief Ordnance Officer, Royal Army Clothing Department, Piccadilly.

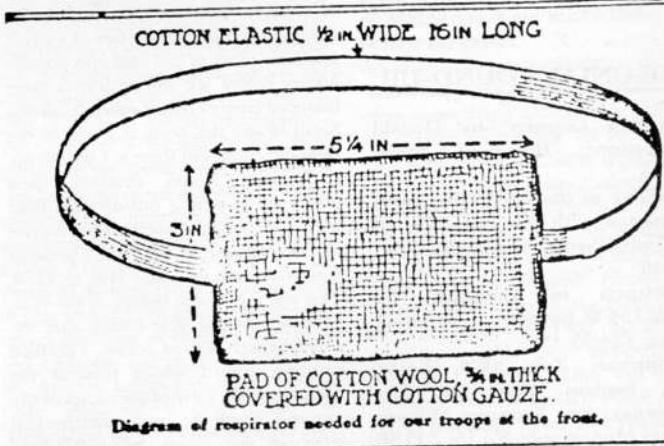


Diagram of respirator needed for our troops at the front.

Right:

The appeal for respirators made in the Daily Mail of 28 April 1915, six days after the first gas attack on the Western Front; and drawing of the first War Office respirator to be made up by women volunteers, from the Daily Mail of 29 April. The response was magnificent: 30,000 were handed in over the next 36 hours. Unfortunately, since the printed specifications ignored the advice of Professor Haldane, an expert in mine and sewer gas poisoning, the masks were entirely useless - it is impossible to breathe through wet cotton wool.

improvised measures: a folded square of flannel wetted with water or, if a man had nothing else, a handkerchief rolled into a ball and held in the mouth.

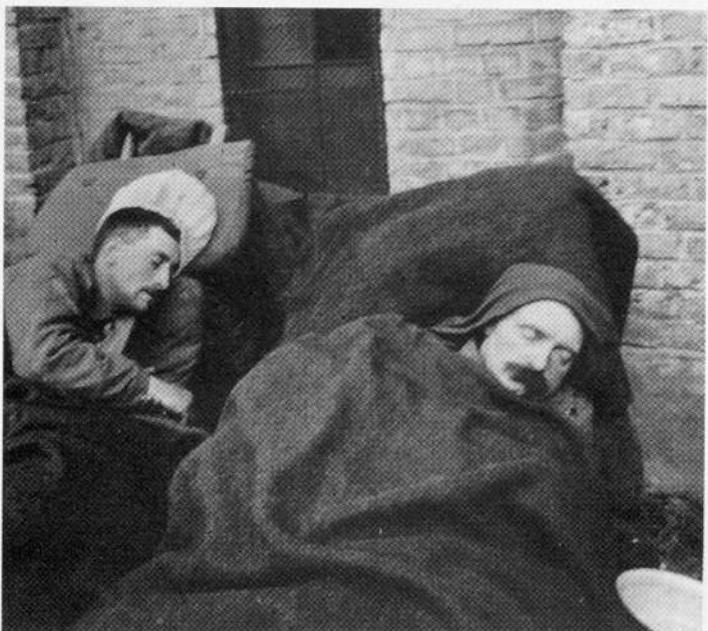
WAR OFFICE FAILURE

Meanwhile in London Winston Churchill, First Lord of the Admiralty, had suggested using as a respirator a small cotton wool pad used during Admiralty smoke screen experiments. Professor John S. Haldane, an expert in mine and sewer gas poisoning who was summoned by the Secretary of State for War, Lord Kitchener, advised that it could be of no use against chlorine. For some reason Kitchener ignored him, and the War Office asked the *Daily Mail* to publish an appeal for the public to make up this mask, and another consisting of a small piece of stockinet. This appeared on 28 April under the headlines: 'Rush Job for Women - Respirators for Our Troops - All Homes Can Help'.

The response was remarkable, and *The Times* reported that 'From 9 in the morning the Chief Ordnance Officer at the Royal Army Clothing Department, Pimlico, was besieged by ladies... They came all day, some by motor-car, some by omnibus, rich and poor, all filled with a great anxiety to help in foiling the new example of "frightfulness".' The next day the War Office announced that no more would be required, 30,000 having been made in 36 hours. Sadly, the *Daily Mail* respirators were useless, because cotton wool could not be breathed through once it had been wetted with a neutralising solution. Despite another assurance to Professor Haldane that none would be sent to France, their issue to the BEF was to occur in large numbers.

The Dorsets at Hill 60

The next gas attack occurred at Hill 60, a much-contested heap of railway cutting spoil to the south of Ypres. On 1 May its trenches, some of which were just 20 yards from the Germans, were manned by the 1st Dorsetshire Regiment (15th Brigade, 5th Division). In the early evening two companies in the support trenches were parading for night duty, and one



was actually in the process of wetting the pieces of cloth issued in accordance with George Pollitt's GHQ instructions; the other company was still waiting for water to arrive. It was at this moment that they suddenly found themselves swamped with gas.

The German trenches were so close that there was not even sight of the approaching clouds as warning. Many immediately began to choke and collapsed to the trench bottom, where the gas also sank and gathered. Most men found the cloth strips ineffective. Pte. Holmes tore a piece of wet flannel from his mouth because he was unable to breathe. Sgt. Ernest Shephard recorded events in his diary: 'The fumes did not catch me badly, as I was prepared and when I smelt gas and felt sick I

continued to draw in breath through my wet cloth round mouth and exhale thro' nose'.

Second-lieutenant Kestell-Cornish tried at first to use a piece of rifle flannelette until, when he was on the point of collapse, he used a handkerchief well soaked in water, which enabled him to carry on until 6 a.m. He and Lt. Morris rallied the few remaining men, forcing them to man the fire-step and maintain fire on the Germans. Their heads remained clear of the gas lying densely in the bottom of the trench, and a wet cloth was sufficient protection to allow many of them to continue. Their fire prevented the Germans from crossing from their own trenches as did the gas which was reported to have blown back. The Dorsets' defence was historic; it was the

Left:
British victims of the 1 May 1915 chlorine gas attack on Hill 60, seen here the following day. These men are from the first convoy of 17 victims which arrived at No.8 Casualty Clearing Station, Bailleul, at 1.30 a.m. on the 2nd. One man was dead in the ambulance; by the time an RAMC pathologist, Lt. J.W. McNee, arrived at 8 a.m. another three had died. The men were laid in the open to ease their breathing difficulty; the bowl is for fluid discharged from the lungs. Two more had died by the time these photographs were taken by Sgt. Maj. Scott Badcock, RAMC, and no more than four were able to speak. Altogether, only three of the 17 men survived. (Public Record Office)

first gas attack in which the Germans failed to take trenches. Nevertheless, the battalion's losses were severe: Sgt. Shephard recorded that one company had only 38 men remaining of its strength of 170.

Lt. Barley's Respirator

In III Corps, holding the front south of Ypres, the arrival of the War Office cotton wool respirators resulted in an effective mask being improvised by Lt. Leslie Barley. A Territorial officer, Barley had read for his MSc in Chemistry at Oxford, and was serving with the 1st Cameronians (19th Brigade, 6th Division) in trenches at Bois Grenier. When, on 3 May, they were given the useless War Office respirators he became so alarmed that he went to his commanding officer with more practical suggestions. Barley was summoned to 6th Division HQ at Armentières, and by 10 a.m. on the 4th was at work in a school science laboratory.

Here he devised a pad respirator of cotton waste in a muslin bag soaked with a solution of sodium hyposulphite and sodium carbonate which would protect against chlorine, bromine, sulphur dioxide and nitrous fumes. Simply by using cotton waste instead of cotton wool Barley had produced a workable life-saver, which would allow air to pass through the pad while the gas was rendered harmless chemically by the alkaline solution. He demonstrated this to the commander of III Corps, Lt. Gen. W.P. Pultney; and cleared a gas-filled room with a crop sprayer while protected by his mask. This he developed into a square bag containing about a one inch

Right:

This most famous image of extemporised respirators shows men of the 2nd Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders (19th Bde., 6th Div.) wearing respirators that are almost certainly of the type devised by Leslie Barley. The bottles which they hold contain solution for re-dipping the respirators, probably sodium hyposulphite. The sector is Bois Grenier, just south of the Ypres Salient, in May or June 1915. (Imperial War Museum Q48951)

thickness of cotton waste, secured with tapes.

All available cars were sent to Paris to buy materials and goggles, and III Corps were issued with Barley's respirator in preference to the War Office Black Veiling Respirator (see below). In a few days 80,000 were made up by local labour in towns, villages and nunneries behind the front line, and sprayers were installed in the trenches. The gas attacks of the Second Battle of Ypres were all to fall further north, however, against the V and II Corps, which were not so well equipped.⁽⁶⁾

On 2 May the Germans again released gas in front of Ypres, on a three mile front against nine battalions of the 4th Division. The commander of 12th Brigade, Brig. F. G. Anley, described officers and men who 'seemed to lose their senses, most of them getting out of the trenches and reeling about under the enemy's rifle fire which fortunately was very inaccurate'.⁽⁷⁾

The 2nd Lancashire Fusiliers (12th Brigade) had a few days before been given pieces of flannelette and elastic and told to make their own respirators. 'We laughed at the idea of poison gas and stuffed the flannelette away at the bottom of our packs,' recalled Pte. George Ashurst... 'Immediately there was a shout of "Gas" and a wild rush for flannelette and water, but before we could get these and put them to our mouths the horrible gas was upon us. Only God knows my own feelings as I got the first taste of it. I had no knowledge how soon it killed, and for a moment I thought my end had come. Some of the boys soaked their handkerchiefs in water and held them to their mouths and noses.'



'With muffled orders and signs our officer got us to stand to, our rifles with fixed bayonets in one hand and the primitive gas mask held to our mouths with the other, waiting for Fritz to come over after his gas had done its work. My throat and chest seemed to be burning out and I could not stop coughing. Some of the boys could stick it no longer and began to climb out of the trench, to be sent back to their position with the officer's revolver at their heads'.⁽⁸⁾

Some of the 2nd Lancashire Fusiliers had been given the useless War Office cotton wool respirators. After the attack the medical officer reported thirty per cent of the battalion in a state of collapse, and three days later V Corps were to be informed 'Lanc. Fusiliers have ceased to exist for military purposes not fifty men available for duty as result of German gases'.⁽⁹⁾

Other battalions in the attack suffered similarly. The 2nd Seaforth Highlanders (10th Brigade) either had no respirators or had useless woollen waistbands; when the gas reached them one in four collapsed. H.G.R. Williams of the London Rifle Brigade (11th Brigade) urinated onto a small

piece of cloth with tapes sewn on which protected him at the edge of the attack. Despite the effects of gas many of the 4th Division battalions in the 2 May attack were able to inflict terrible losses on German infantrymen who tried to cross No Man's Land and, once again, no trenches were lost to a gas attack.

War Office Black Veiling Respirator

Mere strips of cloth were clearly insufficient protection, and after the failure of the cotton wool pad the next War Office type was devised by experts. A wounded German was taken prisoner on 27 April carrying a respirator which consisted of a pad of cotton waste sewn into a gauze bag tied over the mouth with tapes. The pad was soaked in a solution of sodium hyposulphite and sodium carbonate, similar to that soon to be devised by Lt. Barley. Professor Herbert Baker, a chemist sent out by the War Office to investigate the attacks, returned to the UK on 29 April to test it and arrange for mass production. A gauze eye-flap was added and fabrication was simplified. Gauze was cut into 18in. lengths; the lower third was turned up, and a pocket formed in the centre by two vertical

lines of stitching. The ends of the gauze could then be tied behind the head with no need to sew on tapes. Black gauze was chosen, of the type worn by women in mourning, and the design became known as the Black Veiling Respirator.

Although immediate manufacture was sanctioned on 3 May, Professor Haldane, returning two days later from France where he had been working on further improvised measures, discovered that orders had only just been placed. 'I was very sorry, and extremely indignant, about the muddling and delay over respirators', he complained to a senior RAMC officer. Production was centred on the chemicals firm Bell, Hills and Lucas who, once asked to commence production, began continuous shifts at their London premises. These were halted by an accident when caustic soda was mistaken for sodium carbonate, inflicting the women respirator dippers with burnt and bleeding hands.

On 5 May the Germans captured Hill 60 with another chlorine attack. The 2nd Duke of Wellington's (13th Brigade, 5th Division) lost most of their number from gas - which was so dense that it exhausted their respirators despite repeated redip-

A



B



C



(A) Cotton wool respirator, with rubberised bag, probably extemporised in the field. The rubberised bag to keep the mask moist is of a type used with both the Black Veiling Respirator and early issues of the Hypo Helmet.

(B) The simple but effective War Office Black Veiling Respirator, with rubberised bag. Soaked with sodium hyposulphite, masks of this pattern saved the British 4th, 28th and 1st Cavalry Divisions during the massive chlorine attack of 24 May 1915.

(C) Hypo Helmet, with the improved cellulose acetate window. This example belonged to Sgt. David Forgan of the 10th Bn. Gordon Highlanders, who fought at Loos with the 44th Bde., 15th Division. The satchel bears the trademark of Debenham & Freebody. (All photographs, Royal Engineers Museum.)

ping in solution - and those who were able fled from their trenches. The 1st Dorsets, in reserve, came forward to reinforce, and CSM Shephard had his second encounter with chlorine gas: 'Most pitiable scenes, several men died in my own arms as I was helping them... I had a strong dose of gas, but managed to vomit in time⁽¹¹⁾'. With another gas attack two hours later the Germans consolidated their hold on Hill 60, and British counter-attack became impossible.

The Hypo Helmet

By now a handful of scientists in the British Expeditionary Force had gathered at GHQ in St.Omer. They were the nucleus of what was to become by the end of the war a massive organisation, but in May 1915 they had no more facilities than a disused high school. They

were well aware of the limitations of the Black Veiling Respirator. It was difficult to tie over the mouth in a hurry, gas leaked around the edges, and it would protect for only a short time. Several of the scientists gassed themselves in the attempt to find an improvement.

Taking part was Capt. Cluny MacPherson, medical officer to the Newfoundland Regiment, who produced a flannel bag soaked in the same solution as the Black Veiling Respirator, but which completely enclosed the wearer's head. This was far easier to put on, solved the problem of gas leaking at the edges of the pad, and protected for longer. The bag was simply pulled over the head and the

Below:

Men of 'B' Company, 1st Cameronians (19th Bde., 6th Div.) stand to and practice a gas alert, 20 May 1915. Leslie Barley's battalion wear his respirator; note the 'hypo' bottles - held at left, and on fire step at right. The lance-corporal in the centre wears a 'facemask' respirator, and operates a Vermorel sprayer - a canister filled with 'hypo' solution and used for clearing trenches of the puddles of heavier-than-air gas which tended to remain after an attack. (IWM Q51650)

tunic buttoned up around it; a mica window was provided at the front. Capt. MacPherson took examples to London for manufacture, and arrived at the War Office just as the production of the Black Veiling Respirator was being worked out. The helmet was accepted as being superior, but the Black Veiling Respirator was given preference owing to the time that would be needed simply to reorganise production.

The first helmets were made of standard silver grey flannel from the Royal Army Clothing Department at Pimlico. When stocks of this ran short wool/cotton mixtures, such as Viyella, were found suitable and khaki dye was added to the impregnating solution. The 'Hypo Helmet', as it became known to the scientists (the Army called it the 'Smoke Helmet') underwent further tests at the high school at St. Omer, principally because of opposition from Professor Haldane, who believed that the build up of exhaled CO₂ would be such that the user would collapse from suffocation. It was established that men could

remain for three hours in a gas-filled room or run for a mile and a half without being incapacitated. Sixty years later Leslie Barley recalled the spectacle of running at the double around the school buildings with Professor Bernard Mouat Jones wearing Hypo Helmets, the latter then a kilted corporal in the London Scottish.⁽¹²⁾

Hypo Helmets began to arrive in France on about 8 May and were distributed on a basis of 1,000 per division. Unfortunately one of the first to receive them, 3rd Division, reported that many were of no use because the windows had broken. The problem stemmed from the hot air blasts used in the drying process, which caused the mica window to become brittle and distorted; it therefore tended to crack along the lines of stitching attaching it to the fabric unless handled with a degree of care which could not be expected from soldiers on active service. Triacetyl cellulose was found to be an improvement, but the problem was never adequately solved.

The issue of hand-operated crop sprayers was pressed ahead

with; these were used with hypo solution to neutralise chlorine gas gathered in trenches. The 'Vermorel Sprayer' became a trench store to be handed over to relieving battalions. MI

To be continued: Part 2 will describe the continuing development of respirators and their use in action up to December 1915, including the 'Phenate Helmet', and the first British gas attack at Loos in September.

References:

- (1) German 23 Reserve Corps report, Public Record Office W0142/99.
- (2) Official Historian's papers, PRO CAB45/156.
- (3) PRO CAB45/156.
- (4) PRO WO95/3923.
- (5) *A Sergeant-Major's War* (Ramsbury, 1987) p.40.
- (6) Imperial War Museum Sound Records 000321/06.
- (7) PRO WO95/744.
- (8) *My Bit* (Ramsbury, 1978), p.52-3.
- (9) PRO WO95/744.
- (10) PRO WO142/91.
- (11) *A Sergeant-Major's War* (Ramsbury, 1987) p.43.
- (12) IWM Sound Records 000321/06.



US Marine Camouflage Uniforms 1942-45 (I)

JIM MORAN

Despite the popular image created by the wide circulation of certain well-known wartime photographs, the use of camouflage-printed combat uniforms by entire formations of the US Marine infantry during the Pacific campaigns was in fact relatively limited. Nevertheless, a variety of distinctly different uniform items were developed during these three years; and some had fairly widespread currency in foreign armies well after the end of World War II. In this serial article an experienced collector classifies, describes and illustrates these uniforms.

THE BACKGROUND

At the time of America's entry into World War II in December 1941 the US Marine Corps, like the US Army, had been studying the concept of camouflaged clothing and equipment for some time. But at the time of Pearl Harbour such items remained at the experimental stage; and indeed, the opening battles of the war saw the Marines largely equipped with items dating from the end of World War I.

Just before Pearl Harbour a

new 'utility' working and combat uniform was introduced, and was on general issue by spring 1942. This 'utility' uniform, herringbone twill (HBT), sage-green' consisted of a cap, jacket ('coat') and trousers. The jacket had a single patch pocket on the left breast and patch pockets on the left and right skirt; the trousers had patch pockets on the left and right hips and left and right seat. This standard field uniform remained in use until the end of the war.

In 1944 a redesigned version was produced, and was issued from early 1945. This was identified simply as the 'utility uniform, HBT, sage-green (modified)'. The jacket had two map pockets in the chest, and one flapped patch pocket on the left breast. The trousers had left and right flapped upper thigh pockets, and a flapped single pocket across the seat.

Both these uniforms were worn side by side throughout the Korean War, referred to simply as e.g. the 'old' and 'new coat'; 'M' date model designations were not used by the USMC until the closing stages of the Korean War. For this reason the classification of camouflage garments which follows necessarily uses descriptive terms which were not generally current at the time of issue.

US ARMY M1942 ONE-PIECE CAMOUFLAGE COVERALLS

Supplies of this newly-developed jungle suit were made available to certain Marine units at the direct request of Gen. MacArthur. There is no apparent documentation for the first issue of the suit to Marines, but it was seen some use by the fighting in the Central

Solomons in mid-1943. To judge by photographs and by interviews with Marine veterans, the majority seem to have ended up in the hands of supporting and second echelon troops, including artillery and mortar units.

The suit was a one-piece design with a reinforced gusset. It fastened by means of a full-length front fly zipper, with one plain 'glove-snap' (press-stud) fastener at the collar, the snap being painted olive drab. The leg bottoms had plain cuffs. The wrist cuffs had securing tabs of the same material as the suit, engaging with a single Army-type black metal '13 star' button. The suit had a 'bi-swing' back; i.e. a pleat ran vertically from shoulder to waist at each side of the back.

There were two large breast pockets, with central internal pleats, closed with squared flaps each secured by two OD glove-snaps set well in from the edges. A large cargo-type pocket was placed on each outside leg high on the hip; these had the same type of internal pleats, flaps and snap fasteners as the breast pockets.

continued on page 28

New Caledonia, 1943: men of USMC 1st Raider Battalion ('Edson's Raiders'), demonstrating river crossing technique during a period out of the line at Camp Allard. All wear first pattern Marine two-piece camouflage uniforms and first pattern helmet covers. The first two seem to carry M55 Reising SMGs; and note Marine 1941 belt suspenders. (All photos, US National Archives)

Captions to colour photographs overleaf:

(A) US Army M1942 one-piece herringbone twill camouflage jungle suit.

(B) Detail of M1942 one-piece suit: olive drab glove-snaps fastening pockets, and black Army '13-star' button on cuff tab.

(C) US Marine Corps 1943 first pattern two-piece camouflage suit jacket, 'green' outside.

(D) Detail of first pattern USMC two-piece suit jacket: black glove-snap fasteners, and Corps stencil.

(E) The same area of the first pattern camouflage jacket, 'brown' outside.

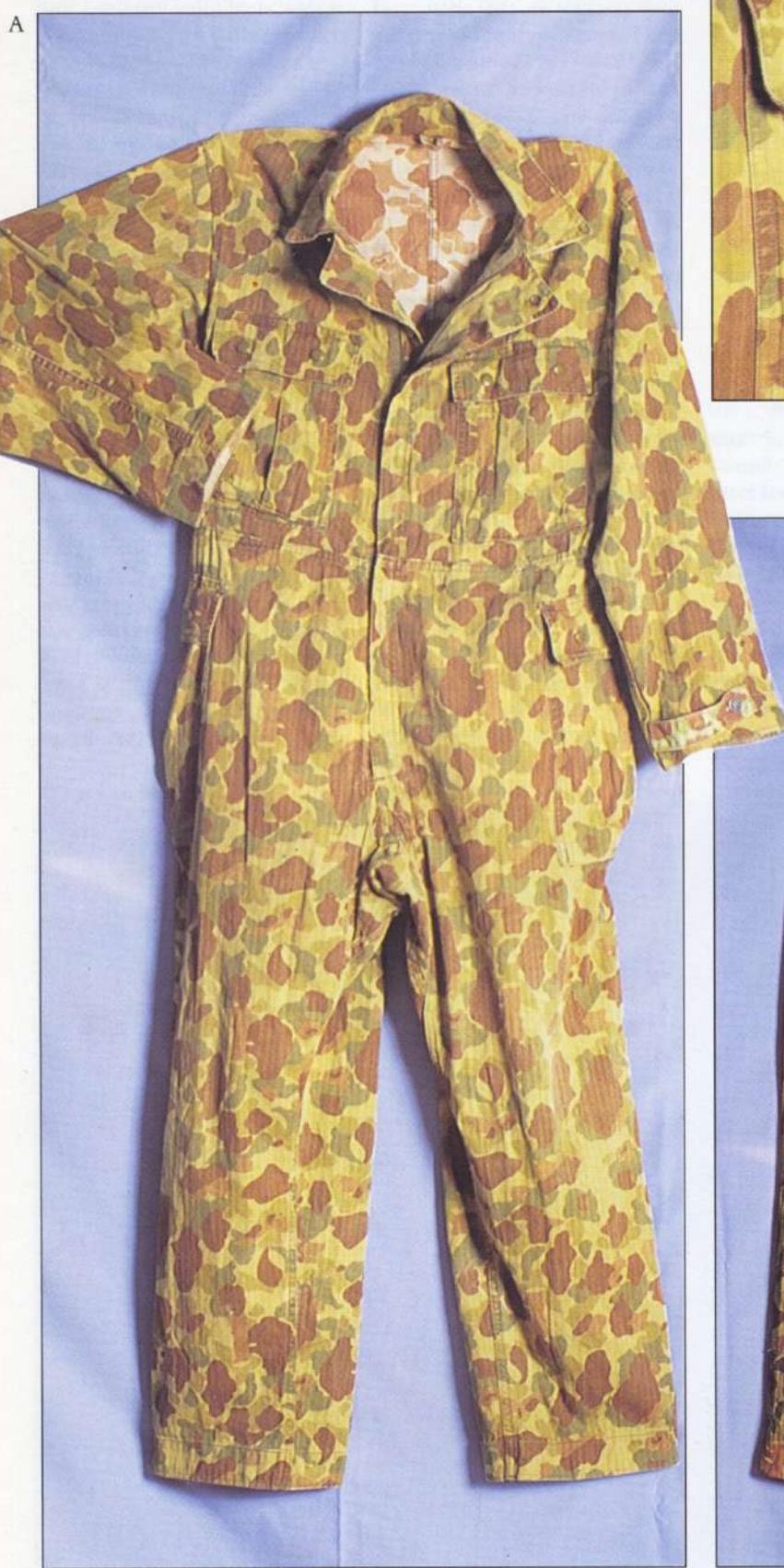
(F) Trousers of the first pattern two-piece USMC camouflage suit.

(G) Rear pocket detail of first pattern camouflage trousers.

(H) Front pocket detail of first pattern camouflage trousers, 'brown' outside.



A



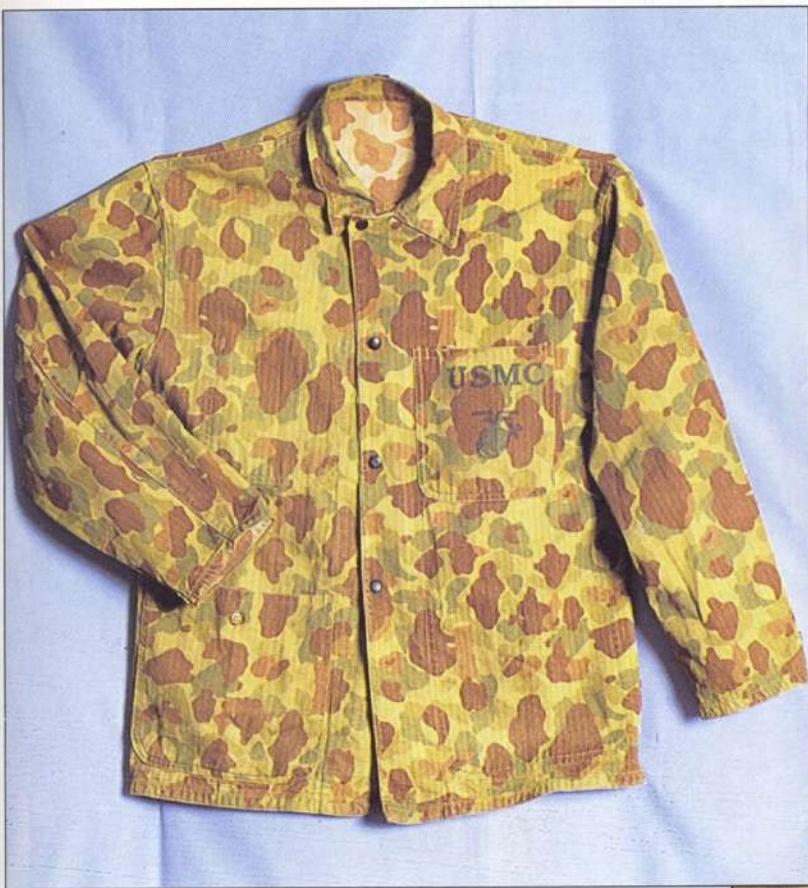
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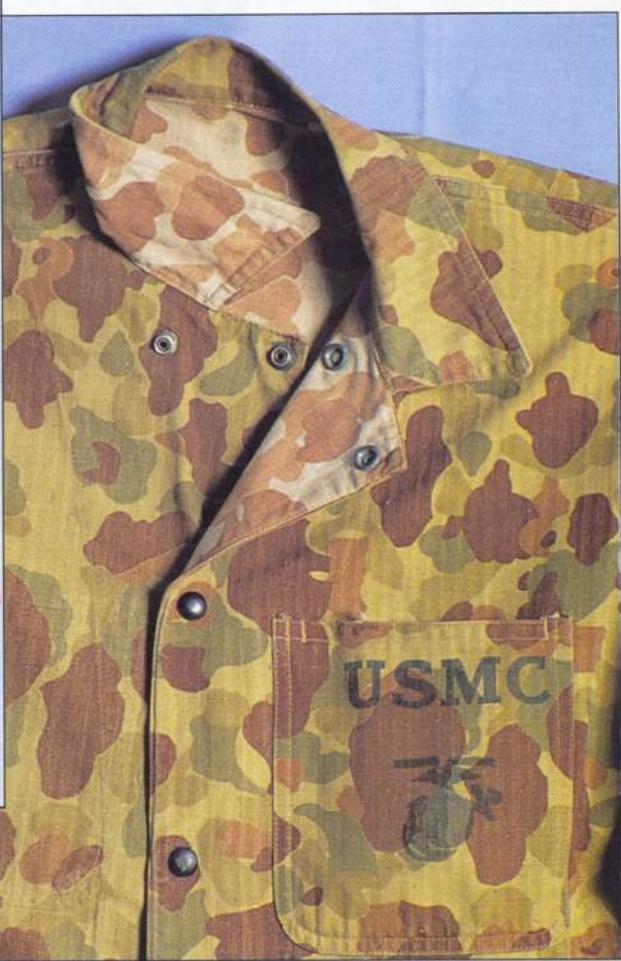
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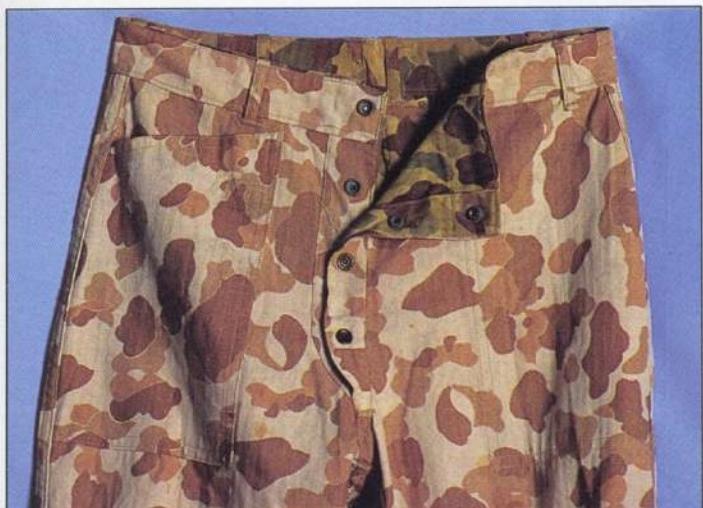
G



E



H





continued from page 25

To assist in weight distribution for the cargo pockets, the suit had internal braces (suspenders) with slide adjusters; these transferred some of the weight of loaded pockets to the shoulders.

Above:

Cape Torokina, Bougainville, November 1943: a group of Marine Raiders, probably from 3rd Bn., all wear first pattern two-piece camouflage uniform, and most have first pattern helmet covers.

Right:

Cape Gloucester, December 1943: Marine artillery manning 75mm pack howitzer. All wear US Army issue M1942 one-piece camouflage jungle coveralls, and Marine 1936 round HBT fatigue hats.

Opposite Top:

Bougainville, 1943: men of the 2nd Marine Raider Bn. return from night patrol. All wear first pattern two-piece camouflage uniform.

The suit was made of herringbone twill material, and was reversible. One side was printed with a spotted camouflage pattern of greens and browns on a pale drab background best described as 'parched grass colour'; the other, with a sparser pattern of browns only, on a very pale beige background. The theoretical purpose of the 'brown' side was for wear during beach assaults.

Although a sound enough design concept the suit soon proved unpopular with front-line troops. It was misconceived as a combat uniform for infantry fighting in tropical conditions. It was cumbersome, particularly when - as often - it became wet, its soaked weight doubling. Given the bowel disorders inescapable by troops living in the field in extreme tropical

conditions and subsisting on front-line rations, the lack of a rear drop flap was also a serious inconvenience: the urgent call of nature forced the soldier to practically strip naked, dropping

his web equipment and then unzipping the suit to the waist and shrugging off the top half... More than one hard-pressed Marine cut his own flap to alleviate this shortcoming.



US MARINE CORPS FIRST PATTERN TWO- PIECE CAMOUFLAGE UNIFORM

The 'utility uniform, HBT, camouflage' first made its appearance during the middle months of 1943; initial issue seems to have been limited to Raider and Parachute Battalions, scouts, snipers, etc., but by the November 1943 battles on Tarawa and Bougainville more general availability had put major infantry units into camouflage clothing. At first it seems to have been highly prized, perhaps because of the 'elite troops' image created by this initial distribution.

The uniform was made from the same HBT material as the Army one-piece suit, and printed with the same camouflage patterns. It was completely reversible, though the 'green'

side was normally worn outermost.

The jacket was of 'shirt' design, like that of the 1942 issue sage-green utilities first issued on Guadalcanal; it differed in pocket details, however. The camouflage jacket had one left breast and one right skirt pocket only, of patch type, without flaps. The left breast pocket bore the black Corps stencil: 'USMC' above a silhouette of the Corps' eagle, globe and anchor badge. The right skirt pocket fastened with a small plain brown composite four-hole button at upper centre. These pockets were repeated exactly on the 'brown' side of the jacket. The jacket closed with five plain metal glove-snaps: four spaced up the front from waist to throat, and the fifth off-set at the throat to secure the collar. The sleeve cuffs were plain, without tabs or fasteners.

The trousers had plain cuff bottoms. There were two patch pockets, again repeated identically on 'green' and 'brown' sides: one set high on the front of the right hip, with an upper edge cut slanting back and down to the outseam, and one on the left rear. There was an exposed fly fastened by four plain black glove-snaps; and at the waist on both sides were set eight belt loops of the camouflage material. [M]

Main engagements of US Marine Raider Battalions, 1942-44

1st Raider Bn. Raised continental US; embarked for American Samoa April-June 1942. First action, assault landing Tulagi, Solomons, 7 Aug. 1942. Guadalcanal, Savo Island, 31 Aug. & 4 Sept. Assault landing Tasimboko, 8 Sept.; defence Henderson Field, 12-14 Sept. Matanikau River, 27 Sept.-9 Oct. Left Guadalcanal, 13 Oct. Assault landing Rice Anchorage, New Georgia, 5 July 1943. Triri, Enogai Inlet, Bairoko Harbor, 7 July-28 Aug. Left New GA, 29 Aug. 1943. Became 1st Bn., 4th Marine Regt., 1 Feb. 1944.

2nd Raider Bn. Raised continental US; embarked for Pearl Harbor, 9 May 1942. On Midway Island, 25 May-16 June. Assault landing Makin, Gilberts, 17 Aug. On New Hebrides, 20 Sept.-1 Nov. Assault landing Aola Bay, Guadalcanal, 4 Nov. (part). Tasimboko, Guadalcanal, 9 Nov. (part). Asamana, Binu, Upper Lunga R., Mambulu, 11 Nov.-4 Dec. Left Guadalcanal, 18 Dec. 1942. Assault landing Empress Augusta Bay, Bougainville, 1 Nov. 1943. Piva Forks, Coconut Grove, Numa Numa trail, 9 Nov. - early Jan. 1944. Left Bougainville, 11 Jan. 1944. Became Regt. Weapons Co., 4th Marine Regt., 1 Feb. 1944.

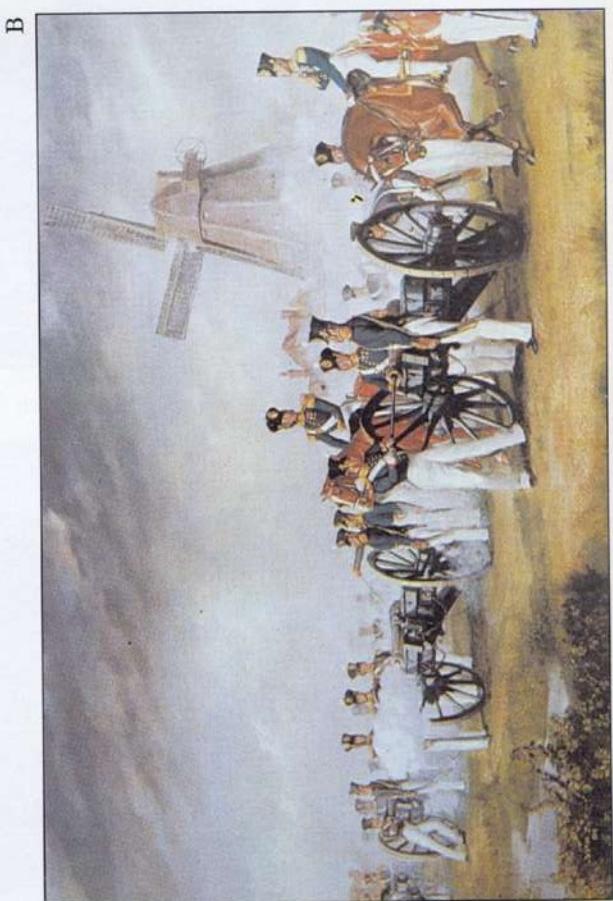
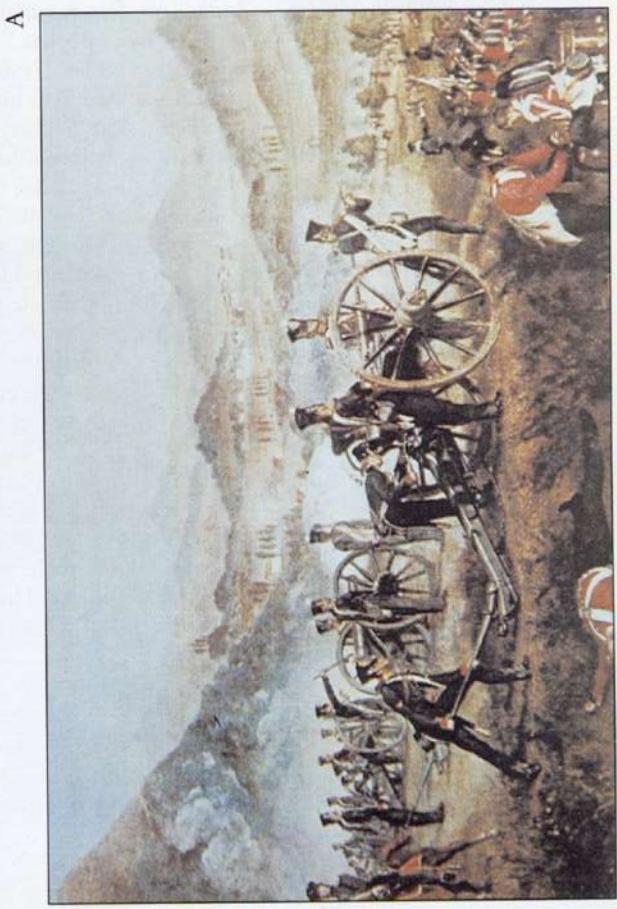
3rd Raider Bn. Raised American Samoa, 20 Sept. 1942, from volunteers from 3rd Marine Bde. units on cadre of two officers, 25 EMs each from 1st and 2nd Raider Bns. Assault landing Pavuvu, Russells, 21 Feb. 1943. Pepasala, West Bay Islands, main island; left Pavuvu, 21 March. Assault landing Empress Augusta Bay, Bougainville, 1 Nov. 1943; Green Beach 2, Buretoni Mission (part); Puruata Island, Torokina Island, 1-3 Nov. Piva Forks, Coconut Grove, Numa Numa Trail, 9 Nov.-early Jan. 1944. Left Bougainville, 11 Jan. Became 3rd Bn., 4th Marine Regt., 1 Feb. 1944.

4th Raider Bn. Raised California, Oct.-Dec. 1942; embarked for New Hebrides, 9 Feb. 1943. Part bn. to New Georgia, 21 June; by rubber boats to Regi, New GA, 28 June; Choi River, Tombe Village, Tetamare, Viru Harbor, 29 June-1 July. Kaeruka, Wickham Anchorage, 30 June-1 July (part). Enogai Inlet, New GA, 18 July. Bairoko Harbor, 20-21 July. Left New GA, 29 Aug. 1943. Became 2nd Bn., 4th Marine Regt., 1 Feb. 1944.



Left:

Tarawa, November 1943: Marine reinforcements prepare to move up to the line. Note, left, camouflage poncho; and cameraman wearing the first pattern two-piece camouflage uniform 'browns out', giving a light appearance in contrast to the Marines in the background. The camouflage pattern is not apparent on most of the trousers here, but this is probably due to them being soaked dark from wading ashore.



The Military Paintings of David Cunliffe (1)

R.G.HARRIS

The most valuable contribution to our knowledge of the uniforms worn by a number of British regiments between the early 1840s and the middle 1850s is made by a small number of military paintings, of superb quality, by the artist David Cunliffe. We know that he lived in Portsmouth - and very little more about him than that bare fact. In this two-part article a respected uniform historian and archivist of military art and photographs examines the small but remarkable legacy of this almost forgotten painter.

The summer of 1853 saw the first assembly of troops near Chobham, Surrey, a site selected as being within reasonable distance of London; a large area of heathland full of small hills and valleys, it was suitable for an encampment and for field exercises on an extensive scale. At this early date the camp was free from the visits of the photographers who were in later years to descend on such assemblies, but it was nevertheless visited by several hardy artists who were prepared to leave their studios and rough it for a few days in search of suitable military subjects.

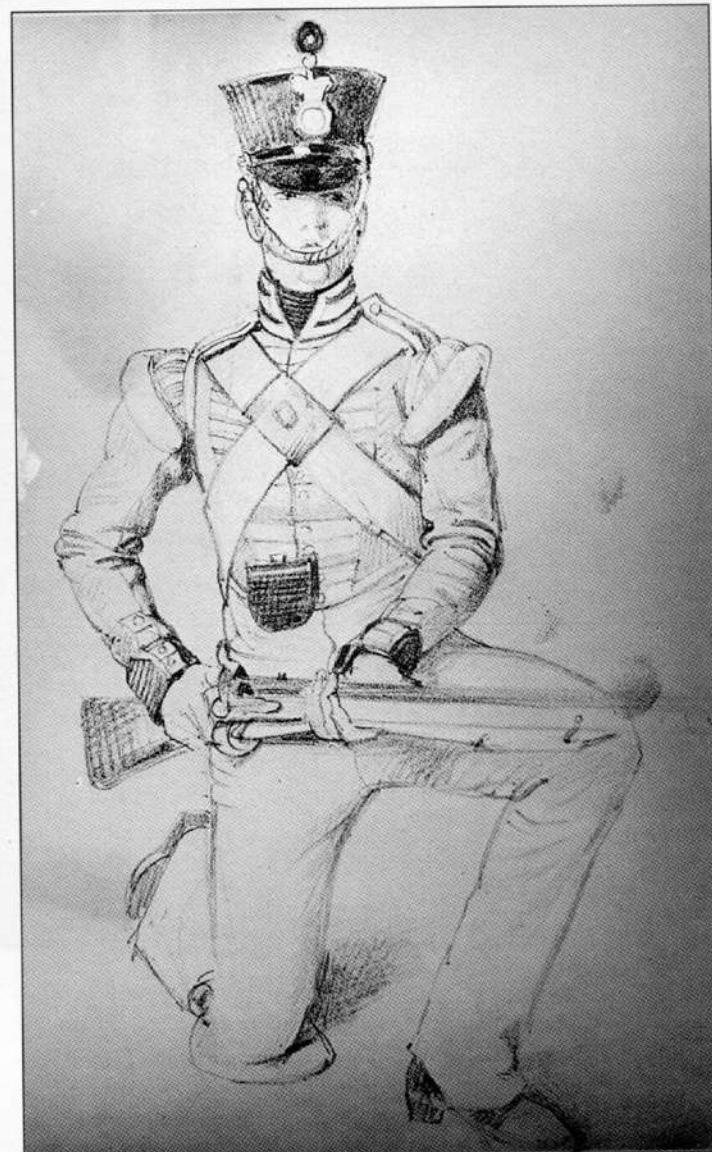
Most will be familiar with the series of prints known as 'Ackermann's Chobham Scenes 1853-55', the coloured aquatints by J.Harris after H.Martens published between September/October 1853⁽¹⁾. Amongst the artists⁽²⁾ who produced lasting pictures was one David Cunliffe, who came to the camp seeking out the 93rd Highlanders. He asked if he might be allowed to sketch a Highland scene, a request readily granted by Capt.J.A.Ewart, whom he

had probably met before. Ewart is said to have collected some of the best known athletes in the Regiment, borrowed all the officers' mufti kilts, sporrans etc., as well as articles from the 42nd Highlanders, and dressed the men for Cunliffe to sketch. The end result was a charming painting called 'The Sword Dance' which Capt.Ewart later purchased himself⁽³⁾.

It would be nice at this stage to be able to give a detailed account of David Cunliffe's career as an artist together with dates of birth and death, but sad to say the art dictionaries are peculiarly silent about him. Benizet does spare him three lines where he is described as a painter of landscapes and figures, and states that he exhibited at the Royal Academy and the British Institution between 1826 and 1855. It has always been assumed that he lived and worked in the Winchester area, although extensive enquiries have failed to turn up anything about him there. However, it has now been proved that Portsmouth was his home town, certainly from 1843 to 1855 when he resided at 68 St.Thomas's Street. In those days St.Thomas's Street was a fashionable address, being a residential thoroughfare of large family houses; No.68 was opposite St.Thomas's Church, later to become the Portsmouth Cathedral. Unfortunately this house and several others on the south side were destroyed by enemy action in 1940-41, but No.69 still stands today.

Colour illustrations opposite:

- (A) Royal Marine Artillery at Hernani, 16 March 1837.
 - (B) Royal Marine Artillery at Drill, Southsea Common, 1842.
 - (C) 'The Paulet Group' - 68th (Durham) Light Infantry, Portsmouth, 1845.
 - (D) Lieutenant-Colonel Eyre Crabbé, 74th Highlanders, Portsmouth, 1846.
- For full titles, locations and acknowledgements see text and notes.



Detail from David Cunliffe's sketch book: private soldier, c.1843, possibly of the 6th (Royal 1st Warwickshire) Regiment.

Cunliffe's known military studies represent the most valuable contribution to our knowledge of British Army uniform as it was actually worn at given dates by known individual soldiers of all ranks. Cunliffe making sure that when possible he had the names of all his subjects. The dozen or so military pictures can be divided into three categories: there are several battle scenes; at least three portraits; and the remainder are groups from various regiments, although actually each of these groups was made up from single portraits.

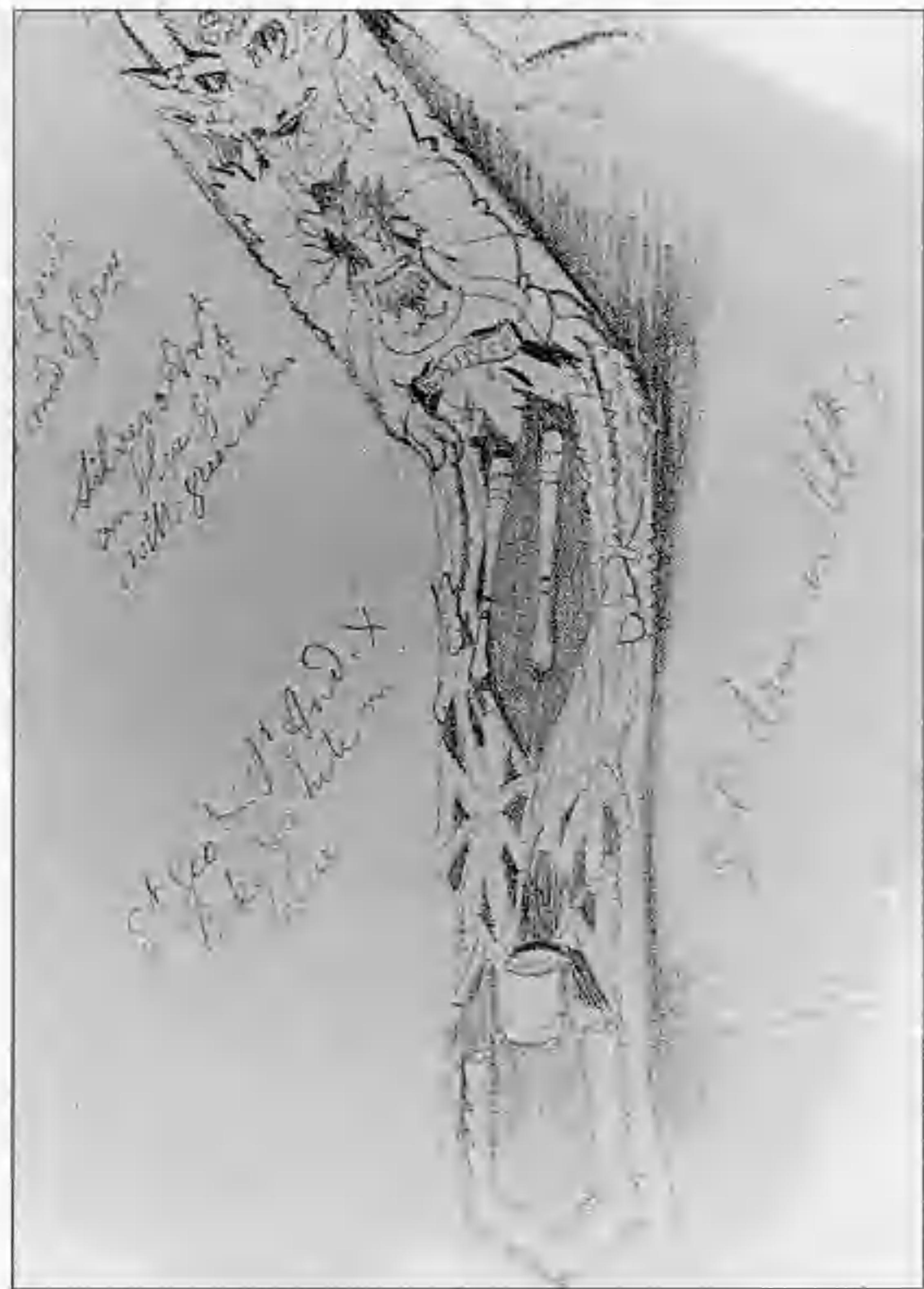
The Sketch Book

The City of Portsmouth's Local History Museum has in its collection an original sketch book where two watercolours, both non-military, have the initials D.C. and dates between 1842 and 1843⁽⁴⁾. The contents of the book are sketches and notes on soldiers and their equipment as well as artillery pieces, and were

all drawn and noted at either Portsmouth, Gosport, Isle of Wight, Chichester or Winchester. Most sketches show rank and file in drill positions, but there are several of officers all in undress uniforms, i.e. forage caps and frock-coats. The examples we illustrate show the Drum-Major's sash and mace of the 6th (Royal 1st Warwickshire) Regiment; and a soldier, possibly of the same regiment, which was in garrison in Portsmouth from 1842 until July 1843.

13th Light Infantry

During the period when the 13th (1st Somersetshire) Light Infantry was stationed at Cambridge Barracks, Portsmouth (26 April 1846 to 12



January 1847) David Cunliffe painted two pictures showing notable historic engagements of the 13th when on active service during long years spent in India. The first was entitled 'The Heights of Trurkee' ¹⁰. The painting was purchased from Cunliffe by Maj.R.J.Burslem, commanding the Depot Companies of the 13th Light Infantry at Portsmouth in 1846. No doubt spurred on by this successful sale and probably by his acquaintance with the Regiment, he then embarked on a second battle painting featuring the 'Sortie from Jellalabad 1842' ¹¹. For its illustrious services in defending Jellalabad the 13th received its famous badge of the embattled crown, the honour 'Jellalabad' and title 'Prince Albert's Light Infantry', the facings also being changed from yellow to dark blue.

This is one of the best active service pictures of the times, showing the men wearing shirts with sleeves rolled up, braces, and soft caps with bugle badges. Unfortunately the sale of this picture did not go through as

smoothly as the last time, and from Cunliffe's point of view was a disaster. Michael Barthorp quotes a letter from Maj.Burslem in 1879 to a Lt.Gen.J.W.Cox, who had served as a lieutenant during the siege:

'He (Cunliffe) commenced his great picture on speculation of selling it to the Regiment, £500 I believe was the price. After trying when the Regiment was in Belfast to fix me with having ordered the picture in the winter of 1846/7 and getting no redress, he reported me to Colonel Stuart. That fell to the ground. He afterwards wrote a long complaint to the Commander-in-Chief but my reply was that I never, either on my own part or on that of the Regiment, ordered the picture to be built. As President of the Mess Committee I could not do so without the sanction of the Regiment and remarked "let him take legal proceedings against me and produce an order from me". This was in 1850 and I have not heard since. It was a picture solely specula-

tive, hoping that Cunliffe would oblige us to buy it'.

So the Regiment did not at that stage (1847) buy the painting; but 37 years later managed to purchase it for £25 from a Southsea gentleman.

The Royal Marines

Amongst the splendid collection of prints and paintings owned by the Royal Marines are several which must be mentioned in connection with David Cunliffe; one battle scene, another a domestic scene, and a third, a fine portrait.

The battle scene, a painting 29in. x 24in. (framed 36in. x 31in.), depicts an incident during the Spanish Carlist War when the guns of the Royal Marine Artillery covered the rearguard of the Royal Marines at Hernani on 16 March 1837. It has to be said that whilst the painting appears to be unsigned there can be little doubt that it is the work of Cunliffe. (The picture was bequeathed to the Corps by the widow of Sir S.R.Wesley, KCB, RM who was Adjutant of the Royal Marine Battalion in Spain 1836-1837). Certain features of the Cunliffe painting have a similarity to a drawing made on the spot by a RM officer, Capt.T.L.Hornbrook, who was also Marine Painter to HRH The Duchess of Kent; this drawing was later published as a coloured lithograph by Day and Hague. It shows the RMA at extreme left, mounted staff officers, including a mounted soldier of the Lancers of the Legion ¹² in the foreground, the disposition of troops on the plain below, and an interesting detail, also in the foreground, showing a Royal Marine Drummer and Sergeant ¹³.

Cunliffe would almost certainly have been acquainted with and probably advised both Hornbrook, and also Capt.S.R.Wesley who later owned the painting. The Cunliffe picture devotes the whole of the centre ground to the RMA Battery, a mounted officer - probably Maj.Casteau commanding RMA Field Battery (possibly 3-pounders, the smallest type of field pieces suitable for transport by sea) - a column of RM marching into the picture at extreme right, and the same two figures of the

Drummer and Sergeant in the foreground ¹⁴.

Royal Marine Artillery

From St.Thomas's Street to Southsea Common is just a ten-minute stroll, and it was here in 1842 that David Cunliffe would have watched the Royal Marine Artillery at drill and made his preliminary sketches for one of his finest paintings ¹⁵. The finished canvas, 55in. x 35in. (framed 63in. x 43in.), was purchased by a local gentleman with Corps connections, E.Janverin, Esq., of Great Salterns near Eastney; and his daughter, a Mrs.Tottenham, eventually presented it to the Corps in 1889.

During the first half of the 19th century Gunwharf Barracks was the home of the RMA until 1858 when they moved to Fort Cumberland. During this period the open fields, which extended for over two miles along the sea front to the east of St.Thomas's Church, became the training ground for Marine artillery batteries. A prominent landmark on this expanse known as Southsea Common was a stone tower

Above left & below:
Details from the Cunliffe sketch book - drum-major's shako, and mace, 6th Foot, 1843.





mill, called the White Mill, demolished that century but shown on the painting. Equal care has been taken by the artist to ensure that details of the RMA dress, the drill and actual artillery pieces were accurate.

Amongst some sketches in the possession of the Junior Leaders' Regiment Royal Artillery in the 1970s are the two reproduced here, and from these it is possible to see how precise Cunliffe's groundwork had been. It can be seen that the gun crews of No.1 gun in the immediate foreground, and No.3 gun, are preparing to fire, while Nos.2 and 4 are actually firing. At this inspection practice the summer uniform with white linen trousers is shown, worn together with the blue double-breasted coatee with two rows of brass buttons, red facings, with a pair of white loops on the collar (gold lace for officers), brass shoulder scales for rank and file and gold lace epaulettes for officers. The black bell-top shako carries a white ball tuft on the top and a large star plate on the front.

At the far right of the picture stands the Commanding Officer's Trumpeter; his coatee

is red with blue facings and has padded wings on the shoulders. There are four officers present and Cunliffe has shown likenesses of all. Col. C.A.F.N. Menzies, Commanding RMA is shown mounted at extreme right of the picture, his empty right sleeve fastened to his jacket. (In the sketchbook there is a drawing of a Sgt.Orme, Marine Artillery, who may have been a contact of the artist and assisted as a model). The Adjutant, Lt. Savage, is the other mounted figure, while Lts.H.N.Hall and C.V.Barnard are both standing by their guns.

(A standing full-length portrait of Lt.Col., later Sir Charles Menzies, KCB, KH, painted at about the same time as the Southsea Common picture, is reproduced and described in Part 2 of this article in a forthcoming issue.)

68th Light Infantry

The group of the 68th (Durham) (Light Infantry) was almost certainly a painting made during the late summer of 1845 when the Regiment was stationed at Colewort Barracks, Portsmouth, and commanded by Lt.Col.Lord William Paulet, the picture subsequently being

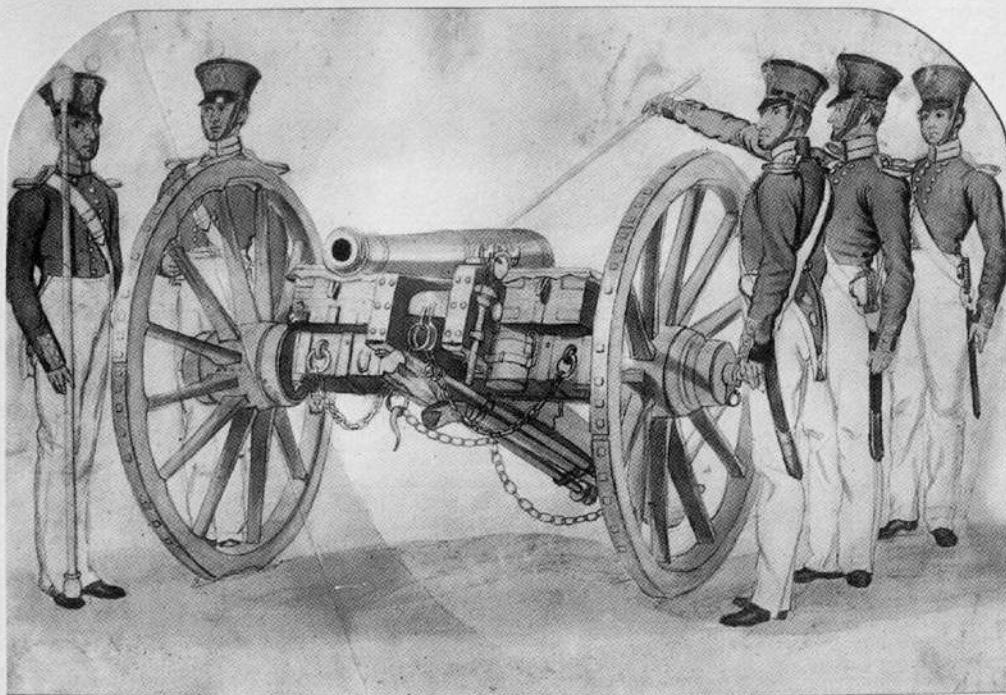
known as 'The Paulet Group'. Paulet exchanged to the 68th in 1833 and was Commanding Officer from 1843 to 1847 during which time he succeeded in bringing it to a high peak of efficiency as well as turning it into a fashionable Regiment⁽¹¹⁾.

He is shown at the right of the group mounted on a grey horse, and wearing his review order uniform. He is in conversation with his Adjutant, Capt.William Cross, who wears everyday dress about barracks: dark green forage cap, frock-coat and white summer trousers. The remainder of soldiers shown are NCOs and men, all named and most in parade dress. There is a Sgt.Maj.Ellis - who wears the four silver or white chevrons with crown above on his right sleeve - in conversation with a Colour-Sergeant William Pape (or Pope) and Band-Sergeant Rymer. It is recorded that Pape's brother James was commissioned in the Buffs in 1849 but that he, William, later deserted in Dublin; one wonders why a man who had climbed the hard road to the rank of colour-sergeant should

Detail from Cunliffe's striking, and historically most valuable painting of the 'Sortie from Jellalabad 1842' by skirmishers of the 13th (1st Somersetshire) Light Infantry. The men, mostly wearing light fighting order over shirtsleeve uniform, protect the Afghan herdsmen bringing in captured livestock. The dark green forage cap has a band of the regiment's yellow facing colour, and a strung buglehorn badge. The shirts are mostly white, but some are of striped ticking. The dark blue trousers are of cotton nankeen; one or two men wear the plain red shell-jacket with yellow facings.

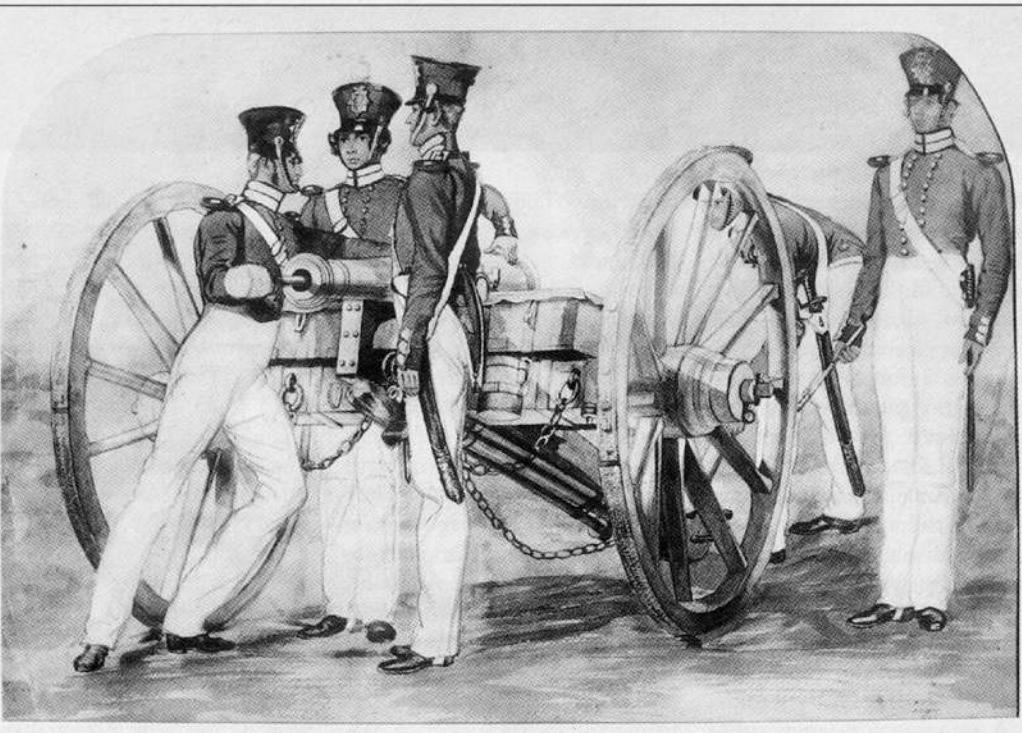
throw it all away.

It is also interesting to note that both the CO and Pape are wearing the new Albert shako, introduced by Horse Guards Circular on 4 December 1843, the officers' with a star plate, the NCOs' with a circular plate placed high on the shako, this plate carrying the number 68 and with a strung bugle above, both having a dark green ball tuft. Similar shaped shakos are worn by the band-sergeant and bugle-major, but instead of a ball tuft both have dark green drooping hair plumes. Band uniforms, as worn by the band-sergeant and a bandsman, are white with green facings, the sergeant's with gilt wings, less



The colonel is seen as the mounted officer in centre, in conversation with the frock-coated officer, Maj. Fordyne. Officers did not have the diced band on the shakos at this stage, only on the forage caps, although rank and file had it on both. Officers' shakos carried the star badge while soldiers had the circular badge with crown mounted on the dicing. The pipe-major (William Mackay) and a piper at the rear of the group had feather bonnets and were permitted kilts with sporrans.

M1



To be continued: Part 2 describes and reproduces paintings by Cunliffe of the 23rd Royal Welch Fusiliers, 77th (East Middlesex) Regiment, 93rd and 79th Highlanders.

Notes:

- (1) Illustrating the following regiments in camp: 13th Light Dragoons, 93rd Highlanders, 42nd Highlanders, 8th Hussars, 2nd Dragoons (Royal Scots Greys), Royal Horse Artillery and 17th Lancers.
- (2) Paintings of the Chobham scene of 1853 by Lt. L. Haghe, G. B. Capion, C. Vacher and E.M. Ward.
- (3) Reproduced in colour in the Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research (hereafter JSAHR) Vol. XLIII, pp. 167/8.
- (4) This book was studied by Michael Barthorp, who describes it in detail: JSAHR Vol. LIII, pp. 236-241.
- (5) Reproduced in colour JSAHR Vol. XLIV, pp. 191-194.
- (6) Reproduced in colour in JSAHR Vol. LIV, pp. 63-67.
- (7) Known as the British Legion under Col. Sir de Lacy Evans, comprising a very mixed force of cavalry and ten infantry regiments, all of doubtful quality.
- (8) The Holbrook painting is reproduced in colour in *Per Mare Per Terram* by Peter C. Smith, p. 59 (1974), and in monochrome in *Britain's Sea Soldiers* by Col. C. Field, RMLI, Vol. II p. 36.
- (9) Reproduced in monochrome in *Britain's Sea Soldiers* Vol. II p. 34.
- (10) Reproduced in colour, P.C. Smith (as 8), p. 45.
- (11) JSAHR Vol. XLVI, p. 63.
- (12) JSAHR Vol. XXXIII, p. 143.

ornate for the bandsman but with green piping on back seams. The bugle-major, the tallest man in the Regiment, wears a scarlet coatee, his right sleeve having numerous inverted silver chevrons above the green cuff; an actual hunting horn is carried by green cords at the rear on his right hip.

74th Highlanders

On return from Canada in 1845 the 74th Regiment was stationed at Canterbury, moving to Gosport in August 1845, and

after a few months crossing over to Portsmouth on 3 January 1846 when Cunliffe would have made his painting, probably at the request of the Commanding Officer, Lt. Col. Eyre Crabbe⁽¹²⁾. After petitioning Queen Victoria the Regiment finally received permission to go back to Highland dress in 1846, and took it into wear from 1 April; this picture is therefore of considerable importance, recording the new dress in wear, as well as marking

a farewell to Lt. Col. Crabbe who retired on full pay on 1 May 1846.

Under the new regulations the Regiment was not permitted to wear the kilt but to have trews, and in order to have use of the standard Government tartan, used one with a white stripe, possibly known as Lamont. (This was dropped in favour of Mackenzie on linking with the 71st Regiment in 1881 to become the Highland Light Infantry.)

The Battle Jerkin In Canadian Service, 1944

W.E.STOREY

Following our publication of Ian Sadler's article on the 1942 Battle Jerkin ('*MI*' Nos.27 & 29), Canadian reader Ed Storey has kindly sent us several very interesting photographs of the use of the jerkin by Canadian troops in 1944; and of two intriguing Canadian modifications of this equipment.



3



1



2

(1) It appears from photographs that selected units or sub-units within the 7th Brigade, 3rd Canadian Infantry Division were issued with the jerkin during training for the Normandy invasion in spring 1944. The units of this brigade were the Queen's Own Rifles of Canada, the Royal Winnipeg Rifles, and the 1st Bn., Canadian Scottish Regiment. There is photographic evidence that at least the second and third of these units received some issue of the jerkin.

Most of the photographs reproduced here show men of the 7th Bde., but of unidentified battalions. This Sten gunner, photographed during street fighting training c. April 1944, wears a well-worn example of the jerkin with denims, Mk.III helmet with Canadian net, and the 18in.-high combat boots with a buckled flap which have become known as 'Third Div. boots'. (Public Archives of Canada, as are all wartime photographs in this article.)

(2) Two soldiers of the 7th Bde. during street fighting training, April 1944. The man on the left wears conventional ankle boots and short puttees; the man on the right, the high 'Third Div.' boots. Both wear the Battle Jerkin over denims, Mk.III helmets, and carry No.4 Mk.I* rifles.

(3) Another pre-invasion training scene. The variety of items - Mk.II and Mk.III helmets, jerkins and 1937 webbing, Battledress and denims - within what appears to be a single infantry section is interesting. Again, note high-top boots.



4

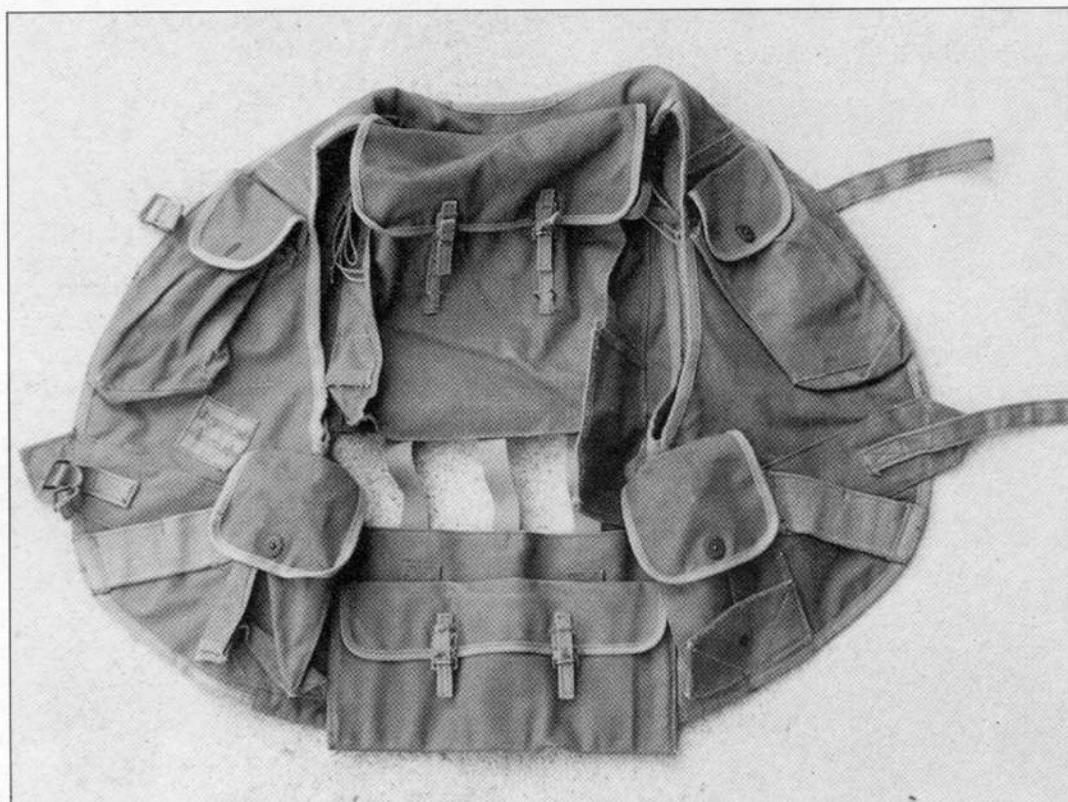
(4) Intriguing photograph of a Canadian Commando serving with the Royal Canadian Navy in England, May 1944. A British-made probably Mk.III helmet is worn with Canadian Army pattern Battledress. The sleeve insignia are of Navy pattern, all red on dark blue: curved 'Canada' and 'Commando' titles, and circular Combined Operations patch. He carried a 9mm Lanchester machine carbine with 17in. pattern 1907 bayonet and standard 1908 rifle sling attached; the magazine is a 50-round box type. The British-made dark brown canvas Battle Jerkin has been modified by the removal of the front 'basic pouches' and their replacement by the long webbing pouches for the Lanchester magazine from the 1937 webbing set. The entrenching tool hilt is carried in the left sleeve of the jerkin. We would be pleased to hear from any reader who has information on these Canadian Commando units, their organisation, service, and insignia.

(5) Capt.R.L.Seaborn, a chaplain with the 1st Bn., Canadian Scottish, leads Royal Engineer Beach Assault Troops in prayer aboard the Canadian Landing Ship Prince Henry on the morning of 6 June 1944. Note the Battle Jerkin, partially inflated lifebelt, and 1943 pattern light respirator.

(6) A Canadian-manufactured modification of the 1942 Battle Jerkin, in dark brown canvas with khaki webbing straps and binding. The front fastening straps, pack straps and tool carrier straps have 'quick release' buckles and pulls. The front and

side pouches have American-type 'lift-the-dot' fasteners instead of the toggle-and-loop fastening of British jerkins. Note, among other details, the addition of a second length of belt on the left side of the waist, for attaching a holster or binocular case. (Author's photograph)

5



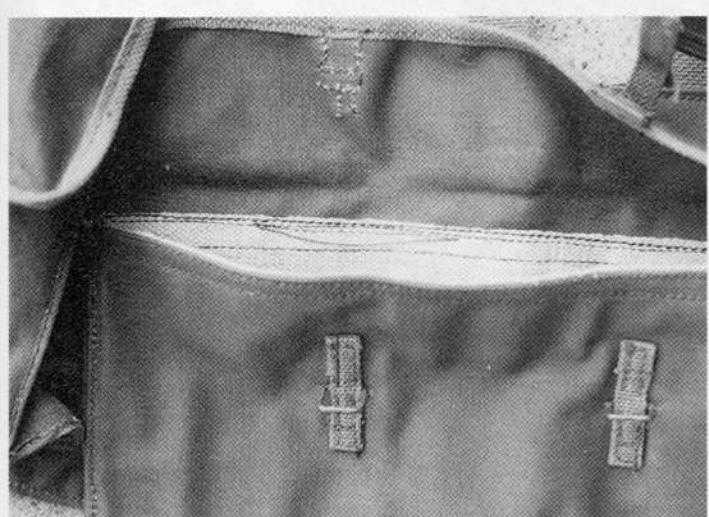
6



(7) Interior of the Canadian-made jerkin. Note the white-stencilled 'Large' behind the shoulders. Invisible here, but centred just above the central head-carrier mounting strap across the rear opening, is a black-stamped manufacturer's marking: 'Z.L. & T.Ltd' (for Zepher Loom & Tole Ltd.), '1943', and the Canadian forces' 'C/broad arrow'. (Author's photograph)

(8) Close-up of the quick-release fastening of the head carrier. (Author's photograph)

7



8

9

(9) 4 June 1944: Canadian troops loading rations on a Landing Craft Infantry. They wear shirtsleeve order, but with full equipment - a mixture of 1937 webbing and Battle Jerkins, with much attached personal kit. Several, at least, wear the 'Third Div.' boots.

Waterloo 'Re-enacted', 1990

ALAN LARSEN

In June 1990 more than 2,000 re-enactors gathered on the field of Waterloo to celebrate the 175th anniversary of the battle. The author was present as 'commander of the French cavalry'.

June 1990's 'reconstruction' of the Battle of Waterloo was, by any standards, unique: a curious mixture of nationalities and attitudes, of serious commemoration and overblown town festival, witnessed by massive crowds and documented by Europe's press. Regiments of uncompromisingly authentic 'living historians' rubbed shoulders with bizarre marching societies whose connection with the soldiery of the Napoleonic era could only be described as tenuous. French and Belgians, Americans and Russians, Germans, Czechs and Englishmen – in all 26 different nationalities totalling 2,300 enthusiasts lived and marched together for three days in an impossibly harmonious fashion, culminating in a three-hour finale on the original field.

Something like 150,000 spectators (published estimates varied between 20,000 and 200,000) turned up to view the event. What did they get for their money? It depended very much, one suspects, on their expectations. An informed military historian anticipating an exacting reconstruction of Europe's greatest battle was definitely in the wrong place – perhaps his or her money may have been better spent on a video copy of Sergei Bondarchuk's excellent film of the same name. Yet the many Belgian families who turned up expecting, no doubt, a pleasant day's outing with lots of colour and noise, would not have been disappointed. It was, in many respects, a fun day in the sun for everybody, audience and armies alike.

Underlining this was a lack

of any real sense of the less appealing aspects of the original event. By dusk on 18 June 1815 47,000 men were left dead or wounded, often horribly mutilated. The 'casualties' seen in the re-enactment, however, were generally of the languid, temporary, propped-elbow variety characteristic of so many re-enactment events. Understandable, perhaps, given the investment of time and money required on the part of participants to actually get there; but ludicrous nonetheless. At the other extreme, occasional 'bloody death scenes' of a truly histrionic and frankly astonishing nature were witnessed. All of this rather begs the question of whether the memory of the men who fought and died at Waterloo is being done justice. Is it perhaps distasteful – the conclusion many American re-enactors have reached – to enact these sometimes totally unconvincing spectacles on the same ground which saw so much suffering and genuine heroism?

Regardless of whether they drank champagne in the cool of the VIP tent, or stood in the heat at the packed barriers, such weighty philosophical considerations were unlikely to have loomed large in the minds of the audience. Those with a smattering of historical knowledge may have been somewhat confused by the surprising presence on the field of Austrian and Russian troops. Yet the vast majority of the crowd, one suspects, were no more put out by this than they were by the total absence of British cavalry, or the odd missing farmhouse....

The Great Belgian Public must, nonetheless, have been

surprised at the (literally) low profile of the Emperor of the French. It was, it must be said, difficult to spot the great man. Even the recreated Armée du Nord had to look hard to find the somewhat uninspiring figure of the retired Belgian schoolteacher representing Napoleon Bonaparte. Unencumbered by any physical resemblance to the Terror of Europe, lacking a 'Marengo' or even a carriage, Monsieur Scoubla's progress through the ranks of his adoring army was, at times, a confusing affair. For all that, it did represent a vast improvement on the farcical situation encountered in 1988, when three or four rival Napoleons (accounts vary) turned up, each vying for attention.

It is, as the reader will have gathered by now, all too easy to write a risible account of the event. After all, this approach was almost universal among the large British press contingent, references to 'pantomime soldiers' and the on-site hamburger stalls abounding. At least one television crew, not finding

the participants quite ludicrous enough, resorted to painfully contrived 'set-ups'.

What the media, almost without exception, failed to pick up were the remarkable events of the night of Saturday 16 June. In a large sports hall in the suburbs of Waterloo occurred what must have been the greatest international coming together in the history of the hobby of military re-enactment. For those hundreds of dedicated enthusiasts who had travelled thousands of miles to be there, this really was their night. Displaying a cheerful irreverence for the posturings and speech-making of local politicians, and indeed of their own appointed leaders, some of the world's keenest re-enactment buffs got on with the serious business of cementing the benefits of the new Europe.

Captain-Lieutenant David Banks,
Grenadier Company, First Foot Guards.





Contingents from Latvia, Philadelphia, and a hundred places between drank, sang and compared notes late into the night. It was, in short, an extraordinary and inspiring event which emphasised the promising future of Napoleonic re-enactment in Europe. Given continuing political stability, a quarter century of bicentennial events of ever increasing quality are in prospect, culminating, no doubt, in the 200th anniversary re-creation of Napoleon's final defeat. In that respect re-enactments at Waterloo will have been both a beginning, and an end.

The following survey represents the first systematic attempt to provide even the most basic of information on the dozens of groups at Waterloo. Communication and co-ordination in European-wide Napoleonic re-enactment is still in its infancy, making a definitive survey extremely difficult. Consequently there are a number of omissions and, no doubt, the occasional inaccuracy for which apologies are made in advance. Corrections or comments are of course welcome, and can be forwarded to the author via 'MI'. No assessment is made of the authenticity or otherwise of each unit's 'impression'. Thanks are due to Phillip Coates-Wright, Secretary of the UK's Napoleonic Association, and to David Chandler, President of the Union of European Uniformed Citizen and Rifle Corps. Between them Phillip and David provided me with a



wealth of information - any mistakes are my responsibility alone.

The Anglo-Belgian Army

- *The First Foot Guards (Light Company, Third Battalion)*

A unit of the Napoleonic Association, fielding nearly 20 men on the day.

- *Braunschweigisches Feld Corps*

A truly international unit based in Frankfurt, Germany, its membership comprises a mixture of American service men, German nationals, the odd Englishman, and two New Zealanders, both of whom were at Waterloo.

- *The Seventh Bon Belge*

This group alone represented the significant Dutch-Belgian contingent within Wellington's army, and were unique in that they are Belgians portraying Belgians, the vast majority of their countrymen preferring to turn out as Frenchmen. At the event their numbers were bolstered by a dozen or so Americans, wearing suitably modified War of 1812 uniforms.

The next formation in the British line of battle was composed of four individual regiments - the 7th Fusiliers, 9th Norfolk, 42nd Royal Highland, and 45th Nottinghamshire. All are wholly English units, with the exception of the Black Watch which had its origins in a German pipe band - in recent years American servicemen and an increasing number of Englishmen have filled its ranks.

- *The Canadian Redcoats*

In the absence of these heroes the Allied forces would have been even more outnumbered than they actually were - farcically so, in fact. Nearly a hundred of the colonial Britons crossed the Atlantic, representing the 49th Leicestershire Regt., the Incorporated Militia of Upper Canada, and the 33rd West Yorkshire Regt. - later, of course, the Duke of Wellington's.

- *Bentheim and Lauenberg Landwehr*

These contingents from Hanover wear the uniforms of Hanoverian militia of the period.



Left:

An NCO of the Volontaires Nationaux - a good example of a 'pan-European' re-enactment unit containing members from England, France and Germany.

Centre:

Glenn Robinson from Medway, Kent, in the persona of a sergeant of the 42nd (Royal Highland) Regiment of the Napoleonic Association, chatting before battle with the colour sergeant of the Light Company, First Foot Guards.

Right:

Sgt. Ron Bingham of the Brunswick Field Corps, an American soldier serving with a mixed American-German re-enactment unit based in Frankfurt. On the left, Wesley Colledge - one of the author's two fellow New Zealanders serving in the ranks of the Black Brunswickers at Waterloo.

- Villinghen Grenadier Corps

The Burgerwehr of the southern German town of Villinghen wear a uniform of 1809 vintage. Not a re-enactment unit as such, they are a continuation of an original town militia. A cannon deployed at the Waterloo re-enactment was actually used to disperse Liberal demonstrations in 1848.

- *The 68th (Durham) Light Infantry*

The Durhams, an English county-based unit, were the largest single redcoat unit on the field.

- *The Royal Artillery Band*

Actually a British period military music society, in one of its many guises. They provided stirring martial tunes played on appropriate instruments, including the remarkable 'serpent'.

continued on page 42



A



B

Above & right:

(A) Marching off the field, part of the large and good-looking contingent of Canadian redcoats - the Incorporated Militia of Upper Canada.

(B) The largest British unit actually to be raised in Britain is the 68th (Durham) Light Infantry, Captain Keith Bartlett commanding. Their standard of costume authenticity, drill and discipline was extremely impressive.

(C) As in 1815, the 95th Rifles provided a skirmish line for the British infantry.

Right:
(D), (E) The Waterloo re-enactment gave the redcoats a rare opportunity to get together in sufficient numbers to form a square. Here, preparing to receive cavalry, and firing a volley, are the 33rd (West Yorkshire) Regiment from Canada; the face at the left was composed of the 68th Durhams. Men who served in this square reported that once a few volleys had provided enough powder smoke to blank out the crowd and the Lion Mound, and the thunder of hooves could be heard approaching, the adrenalin began to flow very satisfactorily.





D

E



continued from page 39

Along with the Royal Horse Artillery and Royal Artillery gun crews, the Royal Artificers and individual Engineer Officers, they form the Napoleonic Association's Royal Board of Ordnance.

- *The 95th Rifles*

Another NA unit, and a well-established one at that, having been in existence for at least a decade. As in 1815 they provided a screen of skirmishers for the Allied line.

- *KGL Light Infantry*

Garrisoning the reconstruction farmhouse of La Haye Sainte were more green-clad riflemen. The King's German Legion Light Infantry hail from Hanover, as did the original KGL.

- *Hessischen Korps*

Another German light infantry unit defended the (pre-demolished) ruins of Hougoumont. The Hessischen Jaegers are based in Bermel, with members from both Frankfurt and Aachen.

The Prussian Army

- *The West Prussian Infantry Regiment*

The most obviously Prussian of the units in Blucher's force. The 20 members of this unit are drawn from the entire Berlin area - a visible manifestation of a re-united Germany.

- *Westphalian Landwehr*

From 1813 onwards the contribution of the Landwehr battalions was crucial to the Prussian war effort. David Schiller's regiment contributed 30 men at Waterloo - a mixture, again, of native Germans and Americans resident in Germany.

- *31st Prussian Infantry*

There were almost certainly no US citizens in the unit on the Landwehr's right. Ukrainians and Russians, dressed in Napoleonic Russian uniforms, represented the 31st Prussian Infantry who during the War of Liberation were supplied with surplus Russian clothing.

- *The Austrian Brigade*

At this Waterloo Austrian troops were in evidence. Infantry Regt. No. 1 (Konig) is a large unit - of Czechs.... Unlike other Eastern European enthusiasts, the two companies from Ostravia and Brno have

been able to benefit from relatively liberal gun laws to produce working muskets and full size cannon - a battery of four of these was manned by brown-clad gunners from Moravia. The remaining component of the Austrian force was provided by the dozen Englishmen of Ian Castle's Hoch und Deutschmeister. In total, probably a hundred 'Kaiserliks' were present on the field.

Armée Du Nord

This consisted, for the most part, of Belgian marching societies. Many of these groups represented Old Guard style units, exceptions being the 'Voltigeurs d'Elite' from Chatelet, the Fusiliers Marins from Jumet, and the 112eme Ligne from Gosselies; the latter comprises beplumed Grenadiers and Voltigeurs.

- *The 21eme Ligne*

This coachload of Britons provided the largest contingent present of actual line infantry - the backbone of Napoleon's armies.

- *The 18eme Ligne and Division*

Until six or seven years ago there was very little, if any, 're-constitution' of Napoleonic French soldiery by the French themselves. Since then a relatively small number of enthusiasts have begun re-enacting the period, though activity is still largely confined to Northern France. The largest of these groups is Regis Sourmont's 18eme Ligne from the Lille area. Supplementing their number at Waterloo were members of the German 18th Infanterie de Ligne formed, quite independently, in the DDR four years ago. Other truly French units present included the 27eme Ligne from Dijon and two smaller Parisian units.

- *Fusiliers-Grenadiers de la Garde*

French soldiery came to Waterloo from throughout Europe - literally, in fact, from Lancashire to Latvia. A daunting three-day train journey from Riga brought a party of Fusiliers-Grenadiers and Infanterie Polonais to the event. Predictably restrictive gun laws and a desperate shortage of foreign currency are just two of the obstacles overcome by the -



Left:

This portrait does justice to the high standards of the 90-odd Canadian re-enactors who crossed the Atlantic to participate. An officer displays the 'Valiant Stoner' sleeve badge awarded in the Peninsula to the survivors of 'Forlorn Hope' storming parties.

below:

Tim Pickles, an Englishman now based in New Orleans, played the Duke of Wellington on the day.





Richard Moore, from Sheffield, commanded the NA's 95th Rifles. Note the reconstruction of the 'Winchester jacket' - the surviving dolman of Captain Walter Clarke, c.1807-1810, now in the collection of the Royal Green Jackets Museum. Richard has been known to brandish a 1796 Heavy Cavalry sabre, prompting comparison with a certain character in modern historical fiction...



9ème Légère (Chasseurs des Cévennes)

The 'Neuvième' are clad in light infantry uniform of the 1790s. This includes queues and, in many cases, 'boucles d'oreille'. A British unit of the Napoleonic Association.

- The 3ème and the 46ème

These NA units - both early war 'impressions' - formed the skirmish line of the French Army. Aptly named Kevin Garlick commands the 'Troisième', distinctive in their boiled leather Tarletons.

- The Vieux Grenadiers

Switzerland's contribution to the 175th anniversary event. From Geneva, the regiment featured a very big band and some very big Sapeurs.... The band, in conjunction with Waterloo's Musique de la Garde, added immensely to the very festive nature of the pre-battle get-together.

- Grenadiers à Cheval de la Garde

Fielding at least 30 horsemen, Michel Phillippe's regiment formed the front rank of the French cavalry charges.

- Chasseurs à Cheval de la Garde

The Chasseurs, a small unit from the Lille area, provided a

mounted escort for the Emperor.

- Hussars

Two units of Hussars formed the second and third lines of the French cavalry formation. Both groups are made up of Belgian personnel.

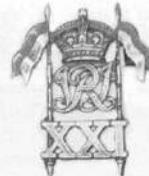
- Uhlan

The arrival at Waterloo of this troop was the culmination of a remarkable journey. In order to participate, 12 members of the Uhlan Club of Moscow had set out some days previously and driven - with horseboxes - the 1,785 miles from Moscow. Given the difficulties, at the best of times, of transcontinental driving, their determination was admirable.

Bearing in mind the added problems of equine-related documentation, and consequent multi-border bureaucracy, their achievement was nothing short of astonishing

M1

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REVIEWS

(continued from page 19)

what the caption states. Most of the captions include a great many facts, but again tend to take their often outdated sources on trust. Even a non-academic might like to know in which museums or libraries some illustrated items are now held. The bibliographies are similarly somewhat basic.

Many of these criticisms also apply to the text which, however, is full of vim and vigour and presents its subjects within their proper historical contexts. Of course a reader should not expect 'new' information in a book like this; but he could expect fewer inaccuracies and downright howlers where the Muslim side of the story is concerned. The Moors, Saracens and Turks were, after all, an essential part of at least three of the subjects. A hero-worshipping approach may be inevitable, given the 'Heroes and Warriors' format, and the authors do attempt a critical approach at least when their subjects remain within Christendom.

Despite all such reservations, however, this book is well worth its price and contains a wealth of information both pictorial and factual. Specialists may quibble, but a newcomer to the clash between Christianity and Islam in the early Middle Ages will find 'Warriors of Christendom' an excellent introduction and an entertaining read.

DN

'The Recollections of Marshal Macdonald', ed. Camille Rousset, originally published 1892 (2 Vols., x + 356 & x + 380pp., illus., maps); **'The Memoirs of Baron Lejeune'**, ed. Mrs. A. Bell, originally published 1897 (2 Vols., xx + 341 & 298 pp., maps); both reprinted 1987 by Worley Publications, 4 Watermill Lane, Felling, Tyne & Wear; £50.00 per 2-vol. set

Through the enterprise of Worley Publications, Napoleonic historians now have easy access to the first-hand memoirs of two outstanding though very different characters of the First Empire.

As his name suggests, Jacques Etienne Joseph Alexandre Macdonald, Duc de Tarente (1765-1840) was of Scottish descent, his father being a Jacobite exile who had assisted Charles Edward Stewart to escape; and though the future Marshal of France spoke no English, he was able to converse in Gaelic. Throughout his military service (commenced as an officer in Dillon's Regt. under the *Ancien Régime*) he seems to have been a punctilious and somewhat prickly character, impeccably correct in all he did - an attitude which led to much hostility, including from Napoleon, with whom his dealings were marked by mutual admiration but neither affection nor trust.

An upright character was unusual in the French higher command, especially during the Revolutionary Wars in which Macdonald rose to prominence, as the military hierarchy was beset by intrigue and petty jealousy. Macdonald seems never to have tried

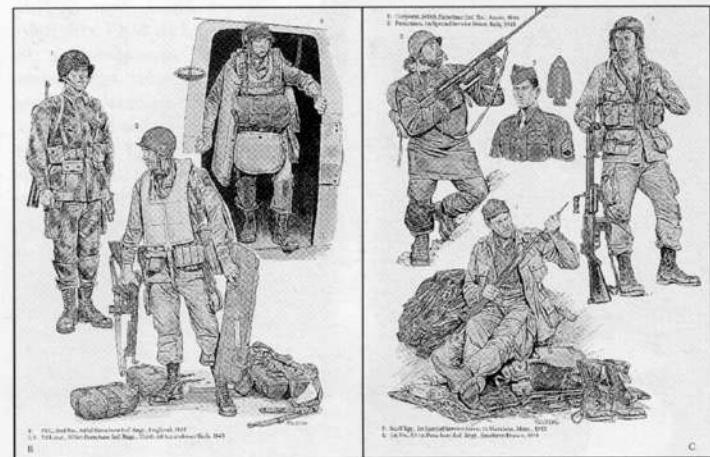
to ease his own path, but remained true to his standards: he sued his friend Moreau for defamation; an offhand critical remark to Victor in 1799 earned him that marshal's everlasting hatred; and, rightly suspecting Talleyrand's motives, he engaged in a blazing row in the latter's house in 1804, from which date he ceased to hold any communication with this personage, who afterwards degraded more and more his name and position!

As a soldier Macdonald was equally honourable, and a general of considerable talent, though probably never pressed to the utmost. After notable successes he fell from grace with Napoleon and spent five years enjoying 'the pleasures of country life'. After this unfair neglect he was recalled in 1809, when his transfer to the Neapolitan Army was mooted: 'My blood boils even now... think to what degree of abasement I should have fallen had I been desired to command Neapolitan soldiers! But in the event, Macdonald led the crucial attack at Wagram, for which he was belatedly created a marshal (the only one appointed on a battlefield). He later covered the northern flank of the 1812 expedition, fought throughout the 1813 and 1814 campaigns, and was instrumental in the negotiations concerning Napoleon's abdication. Upon Napoleon's return in 1815 Macdonald remained true to his oath of allegiance to the Bourbon monarchy and remained his new sovereign's most loyal servant, receiving honours from the King which one hopes compensated to a degree for his neglect by Napoleon.

His memoirs were written for his son and not for publication, being compiled without references and never being re-read or corrected. Nevertheless, they are an indispensable 'inside view' of Napoleon's staff, which remained riddled with the intrigue which so disgusted Macdonald. Time and again we read of outbursts by Napoleon's 'loyal' subjects like Vandamme, who accused his Emperor of being a coward, forger and liar - 'Had it not been for me, he would still be keeping pigs in Corsica'. By 1813-14 Napoleon was being deceived regularly by his staff, who were afraid to report bad news; and as Murat said, the marshals should do what they thought best, or Napoleon 'will not rest until he has ruined himself and us too'.

Most valuable are Macdonald's descriptions of the 1809 campaign, a dramatic account of the escape from Leipzig, and especially the details of the abdication and the Royalist viewpoint of the 1815 campaign.

Though the account was written by himself, it is true, Macdonald emerges as one of the few upright characters of the higher command; never dull but always readable and scattered with anecdotes, the *Recollections* should be required reading for any Napoleonic enthusiast. The original (French) editor's introduction is merely a précis, largely dupli-



A spread of Ronald Volstad's striking artwork from Osprey's Elite 31 "US Army Airborne 1940-90" by Gordon Rottman.

cating the marshal's own story, and is thus largely unnecessary (as admitted by the English translator in 1892, who retained it on account of the Editor being a 'distinguished man of letters').

A character totally different was Louis François Lejeune (1775-1848), a staff officer (ADC to Berthier, chief-of-staff to Davout and Oudinot), engineer and ultimately, general in Napoleon's army, but better known as the artist of the most spectacular battle-paintings of the age. It is Lejeune's artistic career which gives his *Memoirs* a style unique among first-hand accounts of the Napoleonic Wars, for they are composed with an artist's perception, resulting in memorable descriptive passages, such as that of the country around Austerlitz in the grip of winter: 'Never did a ballroom shine with so many diamonds...'

Indeed, it appears that Lejeune regarded his military duties as secondary to his art ('My painting was again and again interrupted by the various missions entrusted to me...'), and his artistic influence was considerable, not only in the excellence of his own work but by his introduction of lithography into France, having watched the Seneffers (originators of the medium) in 1806. His art intervenes throughout the account of his military career, whether it be David's advice on painting or Lejeune's designing of many Napoleonic uniforms.

His military service ranged throughout the Empire; there is a long and detailed account of Saragossa, memorable descriptions of the terrible scenes at Lobau and the retreat from Moscow, and an amazing account of his survival in the hands of Spanish guerrillas. Lejeune also give many insights into Napoleon's character (especially his distress at Lannes' death). Among any number of unusual anecdotes, we meet the French engineer numismatist who increased his collection by sifting Roman coins from the spoil of the Saragossa siege-works; we learn of Lejeune's accidental wrecking of the Austrian Emperor's chandelier, and the ludicrous practice of Austrian courtiers in wearing false noses to signify officially that they were incognito! A couple of minor errors occur in the editorial matter: it was the plinth of the 'Eagle', not the flag,

of the 84th Line which bore the inscription '*Un Contre Dix*' (merely a mis-translation of Lejeune); and despite the closing statement that from 1813 'little is known' of Lejeune's life save that he lived in 'great retirement' for a further 15 years, in actual fact he lived until 1848 as a celebrated artist.

The production of these reprints cannot be faulted; text and maps are reproduced clearly, and the illustrations are only slightly inferior to the steel engravings of the originals. Binding is excellent, in cloth with embossing, gold titles and tooling. At £50 per two-volume set they are not cheap, but editions are limited to 250 copies and thus might be expected to retain value, as the original editions are extremely scarce. For the Napoleonic enthusiast the contents of both works are of immense value, and it is to be hoped that even at this price demand will be sufficient to allow for the re-printing of further rare works of this nature. Recommended most highly. PJH

We have also received:

'For Honour Alone (The Cadets of Saumur In The Defence Of The Cavalry School, France, June 1940)' by R. McNab (R. Hale, no price marked)

'No Drums, No Trumpets' by A. Le Vernoy (Penguin, £12.95)

'Requiem For The Resistance' by H. Friedhoff (Bloomsbury, £14.95)

'Parachuting To Danger, A British Airman with the French Resistance' by L. Scott (Robert Hale, no price marked)

'The Mosquito Log' by A. McKee (Futura, £4.99)

'Agony At Anzio' by W. Breuer (Robert Hale, £12.95)

'Winning The Radar War' by J. Nissen (Robert Hale, £12.95)

'The Last Days Of The Raj' by T. Royle (Michael Joseph, £15.95)

Richard I of England called 'the Lionheart'

CHRISTOPHER GRAVETT
Painting by ANGUS McBRIDE

Richard I has passed down through English history as the archetypal warrior-king and chivalrous crusader. His talent for war, however, outstripped his fitness for shouldering the other responsibilities of a monarch.

Richard was born at Oxford on 8 September 1157, the third son of Henry II, ruler of the Angevin Empire which stretched from the Scottish borders to the Pyrenees. His mother was the formidable Eleanor of Aquitaine, whose patronage of the arts was reflected by her son: Richard learned Latin and composed music. After the birth of his brother John in 1167 his parents grew apart and Richard lived with his mother. Despite the courtly and chivalric atmosphere at Poitiers the boy, who grew tall and with long arms, showed an early interest in war. He took part in tournaments, which at that date were little different from real battles.

A taste of true warfare came in 1173 when, in a quarrel with his father over matters of inheritance and over Henry's treatment of Eleanor, he took the stronghold of Saintes with troops raised in France. He soon lost it again, and refused to fight Henry personally. Once Richard submitted Henry used his son against rebel barons in Aquitaine; his success against the strong fortress of Taillebourg in 1179 prompted other castles to submit. By 1183 both his elder brothers were dead and Richard was heir to

the Angevin Empire. Three years later his younger brother Geoffrey also died. The new and calculating King Philip II Augustus of France now began playing off King Henry, Richard and John; but Richard was soon distracted by news that on 4 July 1187 the army of crusader Jerusalem had been destroyed near the Horns of Hattin and the 'Holy Cross' seized by the Kurdish leader Saladin. Jerusalem itself soon fell to the Muslims; and Richard 'took the cross'. After further quarrels with both his surviving sons Henry II died, leaving his vast territories to Richard; and on 3 September 1189 he was crowned, shortly before leaving for the Holy Land.

'OUTREMER'

Perhaps characteristically, he fought other enemies on Sicily and Cyprus *en route*; he took the latter island from a Byzantine leader, creating an important supply base and jumping-off point for operations in the Holy Land; and married Berengaria of Navarre, a match arranged by his mother to protect the southern flank of Angevin territory.

On arrival at Acre he found the city blockaded by land and sea by crusader forces; but the siege lines were themselves sur-

rounded by Saladin's army. Siege engines and mines weakened the defences, but attempted attacks always brought counter-moves from Saladin's forces. Nevertheless, the city's admired defenders finally submitted. In August 1191 Philip's French crusaders went home. Richard made a treaty with Saladin; but, because he was slow to fulfil the first agreed instalment, the impatient Richard had 2,700 of the captured garrison executed in view of the Muslim army. He regrouped, and marched south along the coast towards Jaffa.

Arsuf

The crusaders hugged the coast, with the sea protecting their right flank and their ships keeping pace. Richard ensured that adequate supplies accompanied the army; with pack animals short, every man was ordered to carry ten days' rations. Baggage trains marched closest to the sea, covered by the cavalry, with an outer screen of infantry. Progress was slow but methodical. The shields of the infantry spearmen guarded the crossbowmen and archers who kept enemy horse-archers at a distance. The infantry could be divided, so that half bore the brunt of any fighting until relieved by the other half, which could march with the baggage. Van and rear were usually entrusted to the disciplined Knights Templar and Hospitaller.

Beyond Mount Carmel skirmishes increased, but Richard forbade any man to break ranks. He took small contingents in pursuit on several occasions, once being slightly wounded in the side. On 7 August the crusaders emerged on to the plain of Arsuf, and it was obvious that a substantial attack was imminent. Horse-archers rode from the woods to harass the rear, followed by Bedouin and Sudanese foot supported by heavy cavalry. Several times the Marshal of the Hospitallers, who bore the brunt of fighting, sent to Richard begging to be allowed to charge: precious horses were being killed and the line was being strained. The king refused; he wanted the whole Muslim army to join battle. Finally, unable to bear it

longer, the Hospitallers galloped out, forcing Richard to order trumpet signals for the infantry to open ranks and allow the knights to charge all along the line. The Muslims were caught unawares but, because they had not yet committed themselves fully, many escaped.

The road to Jerusalem

Having reached Jaffa, Richard wanted to take and refortify Ascalon, so threatening Saladin's connection with Egypt; but he was outnumbered by those who decided to refortify Jaffa and march on Jerusalem itself. He re-opened negotiations, and even half-jokingly offered his sister (who was furious) in marriage settlement. Fully aware of the importance of his supply lines, Richard took 22 days to travel ten miles as he fortified castles along the way. Once at Ramleh he waited six weeks as the winter grew worse, but supplies were brought in and Richard succeeded in forcing Saladin to disband his troops.

By the end of 1191 the army reached Beit Nuba, 12 miles from Jerusalem. Richard knew his supply lines were still unsafe and that, even if he took the city, most of his men would then go home, leaving those who remained at the mercy of Saladin. He retreated, his army disunited, and took Ascalon. Even when the heir to the Kingdom of Jerusalem was assassinated and the whole army came under his sway, he knew he could not take back the holy city. Though he again reached Beit Nuba, he refused to lead the army into a hopeless situation. It was later said that while riding near Emmaus he caught a glimpse of the walls of Jerusalem and hastily covered his eyes with his shield, unwilling to see that which he could not take for Christendom.

During negotiations in July 1192 Saladin suddenly took Jaffa, but in the confusion of the capture and surrender Richard's appearance off the coast prompted the garrison to counterattack and the Muslims were driven out. The crusaders set up camp beyond the walls, but the enemy advanced again during the night. Richard ordered his infantry to plant their spears in

the ground and to crouch behind their shields; behind each pair he set a crossbowman or archer. Their surprise gone, the Muslim horsemen tired of trying to break the defences and eventually withdrew.

A LONG ROAD HOME

Richard set sail from the Holy Land in October 1192, having agreed a truce with Saladin. His ship lost contact with the fleet during the storm. He beat off a pirate attack near Corfu, and used their ship to sail towards the northern shores of the Adriatic with the idea of returning through German territory. However, shipwrecked between Venice and Aquileia, he decided to risk passing through Austria, whose Duke Leopold had seen his banner thrown down by Richard's men at Acre for daring to place it on the walls of the conquered city. The king's bearing betrayed him despite a disguise, and he was imprisoned in Durnstein castle on the Danube. (The legend of the minstrel Blondel first appears in the second half of the 13th century.) Richard was sold to the German Emperor in 1193 for a reserve price of 100,000 marks. At Speyer Richard struck a deal by which 70,000 marks were to be handed over as well as 50 galleys and 200 knights per year. The huge ransom was delivered, England was received back as a fief of the Empire, and the king reached England in March 1194.

After a time spent raising revenue he crossed to France and began repossessing the lands which Philip had been busy seizing. A truce was agreed in January 1199. While a permanent settlement was worked out Richard heard of a buried treasure found by a Limousin peasant and taken to the lord of Chalus. Considering it his, Richard besieged the small castle in March, and rode out to discover the best place for an attack. As he neared the wall, a crossbowman who had been protecting himself with a frying pan shot the king in the shoulder. The bolthead was difficult to remove, the wound turned septic, and Richard died 11 days later.

Saladin summed up his great

enemy as honourable and brave but absurdly reckless. Richard had nearly been captured near Jaffa because he liked going hawking in the surrounding countryside. When sailing back to relieve the town he had jumped into the shallows, only partly armoured for swiftness, at the head of his soldiers. Similarly, during the campaign against his father in 1189, protected only by an iron cap, he had pushed ahead and contacted the rear of the royal forces as they made for Chinon. (Here the king's redoubtable captain, William Marshal, had confronted the hothead rebel, sparing him but thrusting his lance through Richard's horse.)

Yet despite this trait - which he cultivated - Richard did not endanger his own men unnecessarily. His instinctive feel for a situation was demonstrated at Courcelles-les-Gisors in 1198 when he ignored advice to wait for his main force to relieve the castle; sensing the correct moment, he launched an attack

before which the French fled. He fought only one pitched battle in the West, in 1176 against Brabancon mercenaries hired by rebels. That victory secured the enemy's fortresses; but his battles in the east at Arsuf and Jaffa were inconclusive. They were also extremely risky, which is why Richard fought only these three large-scale engagements in a military career of 25 years. He was still considered a good general, for he followed the advice of the great Roman strategist Vegetius: success lay in wasting enemy land, taking their supplies and seizing their strongholds. The importance of castles and supplies is illustrated by the enormous cost he incurred in building Chateau-Gaillard to plug the gap into Normandy and act as a base for campaigning in the Vexin. Richard resided in England for a total of six months, and used his father's governmental machinery to finance his military exploits. As a king of England he has been

harshly criticised; as a feudal military leader he is justly respected.

Richard's appearance on Crusade, 1190-1192

Contemporary pictorial representations of the king survive on his great seals. The first was struck in August 1189 after the death of Henry II the previous July. The second marked the return of Richard from captivity in 1194. As the second seal did not appear until after his crusade, it is on the first seal that I have based Angus McBride's reconstruction.

Neither seal shows Richard wearing any form of surcoat;

Below:

The first great seal of Richard I used from his accession in 1189. The king wears mail with a cloth skirt issuing from under the lower hem, a common feature at this date and one which may suggest that such men of rank wore long tunics even in battle. Alternatively it may have given some protection from the chafing and staining of the armour.





Above:

The second seal of Richard I, struck in 1194 after his release from prison. The familiar three lions passant guardant have now appeared on the shield, but there is still no surcoat. The fan crest visible on some better preserved impressions of this seal is decorated with a passant lion. The sword is of an exaggerated size in comparison to actual contemporary weapons.

double-edged sword primarily designed for cutting, but in the initial charge would have used a plain wooden lance fitted with an iron leaf-shaped head, perhaps with a small pennon.

Richard is shown on his second seal wearing the newer helm which enclosed much of the head, fitted with a fan crest on which is depicted a lion. The increased protection had a price: it dulled the hearing and restricted vision. Moreover, the Middle Eastern sun would make it extremely hot and stuffy, especially if worn with a mail hood and padded arming cap or coif. Knowing Richard's reckless temperament I would suggest he was likely to forego the new-fangled helm for the older but more comfortable conical or oval helmet shown on his first seal - especially when it is recalled that during his rash attack on his father in Maine he had charged ahead unarmoured and wearing only an iron cap. Personal safety was not high on his list of priorities.

The shield was made of wood faced with leather, often curved

to the wearer's body. A surviving early 13th century German example of the von Brienze family is 15mm thick. The lion on Richard's shield poses something of a problem. The second seal, made after the crusade, is the first English royal seal to show the three lions of England which 13th century sources show as gold on a red field - 'gules, three lions passant guardant in pale or'. The first seal, however, simply shows a lion rampant. It has been plausibly suggested that this lion, which faces towards the centre of the shield, is one of a pair; the other, being hidden by the curved face of the shield, would face the visible lion as a sort of mirror image, or 'combatant'. In support of this it is claimed that it is unusual to show a single lion facing to the right when viewed from the front - unless otherwise stated, animals are always shown facing left.

However, a number of seals show a whole lion ostensibly occupying only half the shield in cases where it is known from the reverse of their seals that

their owners never bore a second lion. More importantly, some show a rampant lion facing to the right as on Richard's seal while their other seals (or those of their predecessors or successors) show lions facing the left. Heraldry was still in its infancy, and if the king was portrayed riding to the right with half the shield visible it was easier to fit a lion which faced the centre.

The *'Itinerary of Richard I'*, written by an eyewitness during the crusade, mentions that in 1191 the king's saddle cantle was decorated with two golden lions facing one another, each stretching out a paw (which makes them passant, not rampant as on the shield, when two paws would be stretched). The *'Itinerary'* does not imply that the lions on the saddle, which formed a common area of decoration, were especially significant or formed part of the royal arms. The fact that they are passant, not rampant, is wholly in keeping with the relaxed way in which the general theme of the royal lion was portrayed.

Lastly, William the Breton talks about 'lions' on Richard's shield when the king was still only Count of Pontieu. William described events about 30 years after they occurred, by which time the three royal lions were well established. He is not the first chronicler to mistakenly attribute early royal arms. Moreover, some of Richard's family had borne single lions on their shields. It is for these reasons that the king is here portrayed bearing a single lion rampant.

Sources

The use of a single lion on the shield is based on the argument set out in *'The Origins of the Royal Arms of England - their Development to 1199'* by Adrian Ailes, in *Reading Medieval Studies*, Monograph No. 2. The king's life can be studied in *Richard the Lionheart* by John Gillingham, London, 1978. The progress of the crusade can be traced in the *'Estoire de la Guerre Sainte'* of Ambroise, translated by M.J. Hubert and J.La Monte in *The Crusade of Richard Lionheart*, 1941.



**Richard I of England,
Holy Land, c.1190**